Volume 2

Social Goods and Services

The Province of Manitoba

Guidelines FOR THE SEVENTIES

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MARCH, 1973

Preface

Probably at no other time in the history of our province has the future held so much promise for us, for our children, and for generations to come. Our economy grows stronger every year and prospects for beneficial new development range before us as never before.

For many, this assurance of continuing improvement in our economic and social environment is accepted as a simple fact, a self-evident truth. It is taken for granted, along with the high standard of living and the many freedoms which we now enjoy – and expect – as a part of our heritage. Regrettably, however, there are substantial numbers of Manitobans whose living conditions are less favourable and whose view of the future is, as a result, considerably less optimistic.

Of course, this is a problem which is not Manitoba's alone. After decades of costly federal, provincial, and local government programs which were intended to bring about greater equality of the human condition and to enhance the quality of life for all Canadians, unacceptable wide disparities of income and of opportunity persist within and among all regions of our country.

In these circumstances, and given the relatively small size of our own province, there might appear to be considerable grounds for pessimism as to our prospects for attaining these and other long-sought objectives for all Manitobans in the years ahead. Yet, our government is certain that real progress can be made in this province despite the practical and constitutional contraints limiting the efforts which any one province can make within our confederation.

Our reason for this certainty is easily explained. It follows directly from our commitment to a course of development of Manitoba which will be directed not only to promoting pervasive, general improvement in the quality of life in our province, but also to guaranteeing substantial progress toward realization of the full benefits of development by all our citizens, thus bringing about more equality of opportunity and eventually more equality of condition.

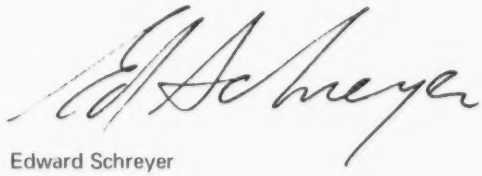
We believe this commitment reflects accurately the mandate given by the people of Manitoba when they elected us to office in the middle of 1969. In the years since then, our government has formulated every policy decision and every program modification or innovation in the context of this mandate and our dedication to it. The principles implicit in our mandate have proved themselves to be a sound, valid basis upon which to establish a concrete planning framework – substantive, rational guidelines for the development of our province in the remaining years of this decade.

For the past several months, our government has been engaged in an intensive effort to prepare a formal elaboration of such a planning framework for considera-

tion by the people of Manitoba. This document, *Guidelines for the Seventies,* represents the results of that effort. Its contents have been influenced strongly by the expressed views of various individuals, business and labour leaders, community groups, and a number of government departments.

Guidelines is intended to present a statement of alternative policy principles and objectives worthy of analysis, reflection, and public discussion. It is also intended to put forward a number of specific development alternatives which are required as a response to current and foreseen problems in social and economic development. Instead of serving as a static, rigid plan which would not permit adjustment over time and which would thus have little lasting value, *Guidelines* forms the basis for a dynamic, flexible plan designed to be responsive to the requirements of the people of Manitoba – a plan whose program components can be evaluated in terms of basic development policy principles and can be adjusted according to the wishes and changing needs of our society. Criticism of particular proposals will be weighed against the criticisms that can be made of alternatives brought forward, including the alternative of doing nothing.

One of the major principles underlying this planning concept, and one of the key determinants of its success, is greater direct participation by the people of Manitoba in the development of the province. It is the hope of our government that the presentation of *Guidelines for the Seventies* at this time will encourage widespread public interest, discussion and involvement in the planning process in order that future development decisions are made in the context of a realistic examination of the issues.



Edward Schreyer
Premier of Manitoba

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Chapter 8
Decentralization of Government Services

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Decentralization of Government Services

Centralization is a complex phenomenon which can have negative effects on both the urban and rural environments. In rural areas, it promotes a continuous erosion of the population base, both in communities and on the farm. It can mean the gradual disappearance of any number of public or private services which were once locally available: the closure of a school, the loss of a nearby grain elevator or local post office, or the abandonment of a railway line.

In the city, the increasing concentration of industries, business operations, and the people who are employed by them in one relatively small geographic area brings about other, equally serious, problems. A higher incidence of social and economic problems, such as crime and mental illness, and environmental problems such as traffic congestion, air and water pollution are the usual effects of uncontrolled or unplanned centralization in the city.

There is no doubt that centralization has been the trend in Manitoba. Over half of our population now lives in one major urban area, Winnipeg. Unfortunately, the growth of this city has been to some significant degree at the expense of our rural communities which have experienced a concomitant decline in population. The increasing concentration of employment in one centre has left many communities with a decreasingly viable economic base. This has meant that many people who would otherwise prefer to live in a non-urban area have had to leave their communities to seek employment in the city. A major thrust of *Guidelines*, as expressed by the *stay option*, is to provide those economic opportunities and social amenities in our rural areas which will permit the choice to move into the city to be one of preference, and not a decision determined only by economic necessity.

Other chapters in *Guidelines* have discussed ways in which the public may influence the course of future development in the province in a manner which will make the *stay option* a reality. This chapter is primarily concerned with the public sector itself as an instrument for achieving the *stay option*. Decentralization of the administration and delivery of government services from the provincial capital towards other regions and communities throughout the province can help to broaden the economic base of these communities and thus increase their chances for continued viability. As well, and equally importantly, decentralization can bring government programs closer to the people they are designed to serve, and in this way make them more responsive to community needs.

During the past three years, the present government has initiated action in this direction in an attempt to maintain as balanced regional development as is possible. Its policy has been to modify

its administrative apparatus into a regional framework so as to promote more efficient and responsive service delivery as well as to redistribute employment opportunities in the government service. During the seventies, this policy will be continued and re-emphasized: There will be a continuing and systematic decentralization of departmental offices from Winnipeg to other communities in the province.

PRESENT SITUATION

The family was once the basic unit of government, self-reliant in the provision of amenities such as health, shelter and education. It was reinforced, of course, by community or neighborhood co-operation and mutual assistance. To a very great extent, the provision of these amenities has become a public function, executed by a three-tier system of government – municipal, provincial and federal. When the present municipal system was established, it had primary responsibility for all local services. However, with increasing demand for public goods and services, the capacity of local governments to provide these new and improved services was strained, given an inadequate financial base, insufficient technical expertise, and an inefficient scale of operation for many services. As a result, the provincial government gradually assumed the responsibility for most health and social services, the construction and maintenance of inter-urban road systems, water control, assessment and planning. Today, municipal government retains jurisdiction over such services as local roads, bridges, drainage, local improvement, municipal buildings and utility operations. It also retains primary responsibility for the protection of persons and property (for example, fire control and police) and for local recreation and community services.

The increasingly greater and complex role of the provincial government and the need for efficiency necessitated more centralized control, and this, in turn resulted in a build up of the government bureaucracy in the provincial capital of Winnipeg. It also became necessary to divide the management of programs along more efficient organizational patterns with the result that a multiplicity of different government departments, branches, and agencies evolved.

The effects of this process have been a gradual centralization of government and a separation of public functions into vertically organized departments. From this position, the government has found it more difficult to assess local needs. Particularly in rural areas, past programs, planned from the centralized bureaucracy, have often met with marginal success. For similar reasons, the attempt to co-ordinate these provincial programs both amongst themselves, and also with the existing services of local government has become an increasingly difficult task.

For the purposes of this chapter, it is the process of centralization in the provincial government, the manner in which the province has delivered public goods and services, and the resultant problems which are of principal importance.

The administrative apparatus which has been created by the province for the delivery of services has not been without its weaknesses particularly in terms of program and administrative co-ordination at the local level. Neither has the present system fostered the level of citizen participation that this government believes to be desirable and which is central to the principles of social democracy represented by *Guidelines*. The multiplicity of boundaries, lack of flexibility, and remoteness and alienation at the local level are the three major problems which could be alleviated by a strategy of planned decentralization of government services.

MULTIPLICITY OF BOUNDARIES

At present the provincial government delivers goods and services to the people of Manitoba through 17 departments with over 125 different agencies. Many of these functions are carefully co-ordinated and integrated through formal channels of communication. However, there still remain some related functions which have provided problems in co-ordination and where the integrative process has lacked an overall systematic approach.

Complicating the co-ordinative problem is the fact that, for various service functions, the province has been geographically divided up in over 25 different ways. These divisions have been created to suit various planning and administrative needs, technological requirements, economic criteria, or to satisfy certain statistical needs.

The varying needs inherent in the delivery of these different public functions has resulted in a wide diversity in the sizes of different service areas, both in terms of area and population. The problem which results lies not so much in the sheer number of service areas, but in the complications which arise when so few of the jurisdictional boundaries coincide at any level. Difficulties are thus encountered in relation to the level of service to be offered in any locale. The overlap of jurisdictions makes it impossible to determine how much total provincial effort is put into any one area. It also becomes very difficult to co-ordinate the many programs and services in an area.

Moreover, with the proliferation in the last few decades of new units of local government services (weed control districts, health units, hospital districts, planning authorities, etc.) there appears to be no common area for definition of a single authority. The boundaries for these various jurisdictions in many cases had no relationship to one another. The consequence has been the establishment of a number of units of district and ad hoc authorities all working within different boundaries. This creates serious problems of fragmentation and obscures the locus of responsibility for government programs and services. For a long time there has been a need for a clear definition of those functions which can best be handled at the local level and those which by their very nature must be considered to be regional in character.

LACK OF FLEXIBILITY

In the area of administration, policies and programs have not been developed with sufficient linkage and decentralization. This has produced problems of slowness, insensitivity of response, and a lack of integration at the centre. Such an administrative unit becomes an inappropriate means for planning and implementing those services which should be most sensitive to regional needs.

The centre, easily burdened with operational tasks, finds it difficult to devote its energies and resources to larger questions of planning, of setting provincial standards, of monitoring and evaluating programs. Furthermore, the determination to rapidly produce programs of a high order can result in fragmentation where integration is needed and central control where autonomy and flexibility are needed.

Budgetary and planning discretion have resided at the centre in vertically organized departments. Congestion at the centre has kept departments from pursuing planning functions sufficiently or developing effective liaison with other departments. Vertical organization impedes co-ordination at.the regional or field level between departments as field officials must constantly "go up the line" to clear decisions. Furthermore, small scale innovations and variations are impeded by pressure to conform to the general norm.

REMOTENESS AND ALIENATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

An analysis of the level of public participation in government programming reveals that there is insufficient advisory activity and feedback to departmental personnel. This means that decision-making and planning are left to take place at the centre, with the result that feelings of alienation from the process of governing is common at the local level.

While some departments have a good degree of impact and sensitivity at the local level more departments could establish accessible regional offices and could offer a significant role to the local resident in planning and decision-making. Even in instances where the province has carried out changes in local government, such as larger school divisions, more can be done to build stronger, more participatory local political systems to go hand-in-hand with the clearly more effective administrative arrangements.

The benefits to be achieved through greater participation in government functions are recognized by many communities across Manitoba. This can be seen from the reports which have been drawn up by local residents in over 70 communities in southern Manitoba for the Regional Analysis Program of the Department of Industry and Commerce. Moreover, there are many reports which suggest further government decentralization. These reports give evidence that the advantages of decentralization are recognized and welcomed by many

TABLE 8-1

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCIAL FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES
(EXCLUDING WINNIPEG)
(April, 1972)

Department	Central Region	Eastern Region	Interlake Region	Northwest Region	Southwest Region	Northern Region
Agriculture	28	17	35	24	44	1
Attorney-General	22	2	1	30	40	15
Colleges and Universities	6	2	4	2	89	111
Finance	–	–	–	2	5	2
Health and Social Development	970	66	684	80	830	150
M.H.S.C.	40	8	20	43	40	2
Highways and Motor Vehicle Branch	20	12	19	46	46	25
Autopac	5	–	1	5	11	2
Industry and Commerce	–	–	–	–	1	–
Labour	–	–	–	–	7	2
Mines, Resources and Environmental Management	6	50	21	42	13	92
Municipal Affairs*	9	4	4	32	16	–
Northern Affairs	–	–	–	4	–	15
Northern Manpower Corp	–	–	–	–	–	25
Public Works	45	–	34	9	64	48
Tourism, Recreation and Cultural Affairs	1	24	3	3	3	8
Manitoba Hydro*	60	138	112	69	227	52
Manitoba Telephone System*	136	72	108	203	430	165
1971 Census Population	86,600	67,100	54,000	56,500	114,100	69,700

NOTE: All departments do not administer services on the basis of the six regions shown. In some cases employee distribution has thus been arbitrarily divided to suit this regional framework.

*Figures shown are based on November, 1971 information

Source: Information provided by appropriate government departments and agencies.

people. Other groups as well, both farming organizations in the South and citizens groups in the North, have registered concern over the way the present system is organized, and have publicly recommended government decentralization.

TOWARDS A SOLUTION

As a starting point it is useful to assume that every operational aspect of government is eligible for decentralization to some extent. However, it is important to point out that major efforts in this direction have already been made. Many provincial departments and agencies have employees living and working in numerous areas outside of Winnipeg (see Table 8-1). For example, there are over 140 personnel from the Department of Agriculture who work in all agricultural regions of Manitoba – about 25 in the Dauphin-Swan River region, 35 in the Interlake, 44 in Brandon and the southwest, 28 in the central region and 17 in eastern Manitoba.

The Department of the Attorney-General has 110 staff members providing judicial services in various rural districts throughout the province. The Department of Mines, Resources, and Environmental Management has about 130 employees in over 40 locations outside of Winnipeg. The Department of Health and Social Development has about 150 employees in northern Manitoba and well over 2,300 in southern Manitoba including those employed in Brandon at the mental hospital and in Portage la Prairie at the provincial home for boys and the school for the mentally retarded.

Both the Department of Highways and the Parks Branch of the Department of Tourism, Recreation, and Cultural Affairs employ a great number of people in many different locations outside Winnipeg. Particularly in the summertime, these organizations employ many people for seasonal construction and maintenance activities. As well, there are over 1,800 people employed full-time in government enterprise – Manitoba Hydro, the Liquor Control Commission, and the Manitoba Telephone System – and they are located in more than 120 communities across the province.

To date, more than 15 towns and cities in northern and southern Manitoba have been chosen by departments for major administrative offices (see Table 8-2). As well, there are over 65 communities in southern Manitoba and more than 12 in the North where there at least five provincial full-time employees. Where regional headquarters have been designated, the criteria used when choosing locations have varied with the needs of different departments. In general, each administrative centre has been located in a community which is large enough to play a key service role to its surrounding area.

The Department of Highways, for example, has eleven district offices in key centres outside of Winnipeg for supervising road construction and maintenance practices for the province. Road information on construction projects and information on other special conditions is also provided through these offices. Similarly, the Department of the Attorney-General makes use of a number of county court areas and judicial districts with respective judicial centres for administering court services across Manitoba.

On a broader regional scale, the Department of Industry and Commerce provides development services to communities in Manitoba through close liaison with Regional Development Corporations in seven areas of the province. Furthermore, the Department of Agriculture has recently decentralized to a regional basis which closely coincides with Industry and Commerce regions.

Early in 1971 the Department of Agriculture reorganized its administration in order to improve its effectiveness in delivering programs for both commercial agriculture and human resource development throughout rural Manitoba. After programs and staff were regrouped to suit decentralization, regional directors were appointed to supervise and coordinate agricultural programs in each of five regions. In every region the office of the regional director was located where it could best serve the entire region and where one or more staff members of the Department were already located.

The Community Recreation Branch of the Department of Tourism, Recreation, and Cultural Affairs now makes use of the same five regions as Agriculture for the delivery of community recreation services. Work is currently carried out from headquarters in Dauphin, Brandon and Winnipeg and tentative plans indicate a further decentralization of administrative staff to offices in the other regions.

TABLE 8-2

DISTRIBUTION OF REGIONAL CENTRES (AND SUB-CENTRES) FOR DEPARTMENTAL SERVICES AND ADMINISTRATION THROUGHOUT SIX PROVINCIAL REGIONS*

Department	Central Region	Eastern Region	Interlake Region	Northwest Region	Southwest Region	Northern Region
Agriculture	Portage (8 sub-centres)	Beausejour (4 sub-centres)	Arborg (6 sub-centres)	Dauphin (5 sub-centres)	Brandon (10 sub-centres)	
Attorney-General	Portage (1 sub-centre)	(2 sub-centres)	(1 sub-centre)	Dauphin (4 sub-centres)	Brandon (4 sub-centres)	The Pas (3 sub-centres)
Health and Social Development	Portage (9 sub-centres)	Beausejour (8 sub-centres)	Gimli (9 sub-centres)	Dauphin (11 sub-centres)	Brandon (11 sub-centres)	The Pas (15 sub-centres)
Highways	Carman Portage	Steinbach	Arborg Selkirk	Minnedosa Swan River Dauphin	Brandon Boissevain	The Pas
Autopac	Portage		Selkirk	Dauphin	Brandon	Thompson
Labour					Brandon	
Mines, Resources Environmental Management	(2 sub-centres)	(12 sub-centres)	(9 sub-centres)	Dauphin (8 sub-centres)	Brandon (6 sub-centres)	The Pas (13 sub-centres)
Municipal Affairs	Morden			Dauphin Minnedosa	Brandon Souris	
Northern Affairs			Selkirk	Dauphin		The Pas Thompson
Tourism, Recreation	(1 sub-centre)	Birds Hill (6 sub-centres)	(1 sub-centre)	(2 sub-centres)	(2 sub-centres)	The Pas (2 sub-centres)

*As in Table 8-1, the regional framework shown here is not used by all departments. Where no regional office is named for a particular region, it can be assumed that the central service is provided from Winnipeg or a nearby central office in another region.

Source: Information provided by appropriate government departments (December, 1972).

In the area of Health and Social Development major steps in decentralization are currently being undertaken. Dividing the province into seven regions, the Department has adopted almost the same geographical areas that are used by three other major government departments. As a first step toward a total province-wide restructuring of public health and social services, the Department has designated the southwest corner of the province to test its new health plan. Here, all government public health and social development services have been reorganized and co-ordinated into a carefully structured administrative unit. A regional director, working from the Brandon headquarters, supervises management duties in the area. Doctors, dentists, nurses, social workers, and all other health workers are thus left free to practice a "team approach" in a fully integrated health care program.

In the next phase of the program, the experimental model designed for the Brandon area will be evaluated before models are developed to suit the characteristics of the other regions. In each case, the location chosen for the administrative office is at the centre of one of the seven regions. Working under continuing consultation with health officers, representatives of the Manitoba Medical Association, and other health experts, the Department expects that half of the regions should be fully integrated by June, 1973.

Other examples indicate the government's firm commitment to decentralization. In four recent moves the government has made positive steps in decentralizing its operations away from the centre thus allowing rural areas to benefit more directly from job opportunities and improved service.

The head office of the Manitoba Public Insurance Corporation (Autopac) has just been established in Brandon. Purchasing of supplies, processing for out-of-province claims, and other Autopac services are all carried out at this central office. As well, Selkirk has just been chosen as the headquarters of the Manitoba Lotteries Commission to continue the decentralization trend. Furthermore, plans are underway to decentralize the sign painting and maintenance functions of the Provincial Department of Highways in Dauphin.

The most recent step in decentralizing operations has been the transfer of the Lake Winnipeg regional office of the Department of Northern Affairs to Selkirk. The new office, now located near the region it serves, assists in establishing and advising local governments in a number of communities surrounding Lake Winnipeg. The area served by the Selkirk regional office includes Bissett and Berens River on the east side of Lake Winnipeg, Jackhead and Anama Bay on the west side of the lake, and Dallas and Red Rose in the northern Interlake.

DECENTRALIZATION PROPOSALS

The desire to decentralize and regionalize services has, for some time, been an objective of this government. As previously indicated the government has already made a start in this direction. However, the approach sometimes has been unorganized with no co-ordinated focus.

In order for decentralization to be fully effective and the principles contained in *Guidelines* to be realized, there are certain criteria which must be met: First, the process of decentralization must accommodate agreement on the choice of regional boundaries to minimize the overlap between service areas. Second, the process must allow for the selection of appropriate communities where the addition of government offices will maximize local and regional benefits. Third, the process must provide for detailed study of the decentralization possibilities in each provincial department. Fourth, the process must include a program of systematic staging for the placement of offices and staff and co-ordination of programs.

The use of common regional boundaries in five major provincial departments provides good evidence of co-operation in the selection of service boundaries. To further this co-operation it is expected that, where other branches or departments can decentralize, they will do so in a manner that is consistent with the activity which has gone on. The assurance is given in hospital administration, for example, that any changes required in a hospital district will incorporate the jurisdictional boundaries of the surrounding and larger region in which other health services are delivered.

This is not to suggest that the boundaries for all government service areas should be identical. It is only necessary that they fit into some kind of overall rational pattern. For example, the ideal pattern might exist where the jurisdictional boundaries of various service areas are all subsumed within a larger regional context.

Decentralization should include an analysis of the role which various communities play in serving their hinterlands. To a great extent, decentralized services should be located in those communities that already perform major service functions and already act as regional centres. Of the regions presently designated, all have more than one major community which could possibly serve as a regional centre. This suggests, and rightly so, that there should not be merely one community per region chosen for additional government offices. The objective then, will be to decentralize within the region as well as towards it.

This approach to decentralization is one which recognizes that functional interrelationships exist between communities of various sizes and between larger regions. It is recognized that some communities have a greater sphere of influence than do others. In the interests of promoting balanced development in each region, investment should be distributed in as large a number of centres as possible. Growth centres, as such, should not be designated.

The administrative operations in each department should be thoroughly examined to ensure that those functions which remain do so by centralized necessity and not merely convenience. Even in departments where substantial decentralization has taken place, close scrutiny should be given to further possibilities for change.

For example, a function that is almost completely research-oriented rather than operational or administrative can probably be carried out satisfactorily at either the central or regional level.

In situations where government offices require expansion, every effort should be made to ensure that expansion takes place in areas outside Winnipeg. This, in fact, is already happening. Manitoba Hydro, under its new regional organization scheme, is establishing new headquarter offices in Brandon and Selkirk. In total, more than 50 people in supervisory, technical and clerical capacities will be relocated as part of this decentralization.

As progress is made in decentralizing departmental operations, it may be advisable to establish regional advisory groups to provide an organized feedback on the effectiveness of programs and the quality of services. As this system evolves, it is entirely possible that a number of duties and responsibilities can be transferred to advisory groups. In this way, the participation principle of *Guidelines* can be strengthened enabling people to gain more control over decisions that affect them directly. As experience is gained, it also may be possible to delegate authority for specific areas to advisory groups. In this way, the transfer of authority could follow from the transfer of duties. However, as certain authority is transferred to regional advisory groups, an electoral process should be developed to ensure that the members are democratically selected and have representative membership.

With regionalization of government offices there will also be a need to co-ordinate

the programs and services in each area. It is not unlikely that regional directors from various departments will find it more and more useful to meet for discussion periodically. Just as departmental officials may get together in each area, so too the regional advisory groups may wish to meet for discussion of common concerns.

The intent of all these suggestions is to more effectively deliver public services, both locally and regionally. In the centre, there can thus be less of an emphasis on delivery and administration and more of an emphasis on policy and overall provincial co-ordination.

As the regional boundaries become more clearly defined, it will be possible, over time, to assemble a data base and set up a regional accounting system. Such a data base will be necessary to ensure program efficiency and comprehensive planning in each region.

The services and structure of municipal government have been omitted from this discussion as they are not greatly affected by it. However, municipalities find they have mutual interests or share common concerns over the delivery of some local service, and where municipalities express a desire to group together to provide a better service, say local policing, this would be encouraged providing the change is deemed useful by all parties concerned.

For certain types of functional integration of services involving local and provincial authorities, a confederation of municipalities may be required. It is emphasized, however, that any type of confederation would be purely voluntary and left to an on-going process of consultation between the local and provincial government.

Chapter 9
Health and Social Development

Health and Social Development

"Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease."

The World Health Organization's definition of health prefaces this chapter of *Guidelines* in order to stress this government's awareness that good health for all Manitobans will not be achieved by access to good medical care alone. All Manitobans share certain basic needs – adequate income, shelter, nutrition, education, recreation, health care – *i.e.* all those things which are essential to the maintenance of "physical, mental and social well-being". Especially in the last few decades, our society has come to accept that the public, as a collective entity, has a social responsibility to ensure that these broadly, even universally, experienced needs do not go unmet. The services that the public provides to meet these basic needs have been characterized as "social utilities", that is, goods and services that society purchases collectively and provides to individuals on a universal basis because everyone, or almost everyone, requires them to maintain that quality of life which our affluent society makes possible. Other chapters in this document have dealt with such social utilities as housing, recreation, and education; this chapter is concerned with two components in the range of social utilities which are very closely related – health and social services.

The description of these services as "social utilities" indicates a very different approach to the provision of health services, and especially of social services, than has prevailed in the past. It implies, fundamentally, the recognition that everyone has a right to these services and that society, through government, has a corresponding responsibility to ensure that no one is denied them. Moreover, it recognizes that society as a whole benefits when these services are universally available. This means that there can be no stigma attached to the receipt of these services through public programs. We have largely come to accept health care in this light: the establishment of universal public insurance programs for medical care and hospitalization testify to this. The same cannot be said of social services: many people, for example, still regard those who must rely on government financial assistance as failures and deficient human beings. The "social utilities" approach is premised on the belief that, if individuals cannot themselves provide for the necessities of life, this is not the result of inherent individual lacks, but of the basic inadequacies of our social and economic system. Moreover, the "social utilities" approach implies equality: services must be equally accessible to all.

The simple fact that two traditionally different areas of concern are dealt with in a single chapter of this policy document reflects another basic aspect of this government's approach to the provision

of health and social services. The intimate, and often cause-and-effect relationship between "health" needs and "social" needs must be taken into account in the provision of services designed to meet those needs. For example, the problems of the child who is not developing physically at a normal pace and is inordinately susceptible to disease will not be solved by medical treatment alone if his problems are primarily the result, as they often are in such cases, of lack of adequate nutrition and an unsanitary environment at home, which, in turn may be the result of poverty. The problems of the aged are a classic example of needs which cannot be categorized as either "health" or "social". Unfortunately, the services designed to solve these problems have tended to be compartmentalized as either "health" or "social" services. As a result, treatment is often geared towards curing the symptoms while the basic causes remain unremedied. Even within the range of services that the two general categories of health and social services represent, the same kind of compartmentalization of services exists to serve needs which are not categorical. If our system of health and social services is to effectively meet the needs of the total individual then the present approach of treating each specific demand as an isolated or unique problem must be changed in favour of an approach which recognizes the complex inter-relationships between problems and considers each demand as a component in an overall spectrum of need. Services must be planned and provided as complementary components of a total health care system.

Our approach, which is directed toward the development of a comprehensive health care system, of which social services are regarded as an integral part, and towards the provision of such care as a "social utility", is also geared toward providing that kind of care and assistance which will prevent problems from arising. The remedial or curative orientation of present health and social services has meant that services are often only provided as a response to periods of ill-health or crisis. Our health care system must be reoriented towards emphasizing those aspects of care which are designed to keep people healthy.

The direction our health policy should take in the seventies may be more clearly defined by reference to the four principles of *Guidelines:*

(a) Maximizing the general well-being of Manitobans:

Health policy, broadly conceived to include social services, will be directed to ensure that all Manitobans will have access to that comprehensive range of services which are essential to the maintenance of a state of "complete physical, mental and social well-being." This will mean a reallocation of health resources to emphasize those services which are designed to prevent illness or problems from occuring. Moreover, since facility of access to those services which are necessary for the maintenance, attainment, or recovery of health is fundamentally related to the way in which health services are provided to the consumer, this government would endeavour to transform the present fragmented system for the delivery of services into an integrated and co-ordinated delivery system.

(b) Greater equality of the human condition:

Health policy will be directed to ensure that all residents of the province have equal access to the best quality of services which is within the province's resources, human and financial, to provide. At the present time, Manitobans do not enjoy equal access to health services and this is primarily a problem of mal-distribution of resources on a geographic basis. While it is not desirable to have the over-concentration of resources on one major urban area that we have now, it is also not

possible, given scarce resources, to achieve absolute equality in a province which is large geographically and which has a relatively sparse population over half of which is concentrated in a single urban area with the remainder widely and unevenly distributed throughout the rest of the province. However, with equal access as a goal, Manitoba can strive to establish the best balance between on the one hand, the most extensive distribution of resources, and, on the other hand, the most efficient scale of health services and facilities.

Geography is, however, not the only barrier to equal accessibility. Financial ability still remains as an obstacle to the receipt of some essential services. The establishment of universal medical and hospital insurance first by Saskatchewan and then by the other provinces in conjunction with the federal government has removed to a large degree the threat of financial ruin that serious illness can bring. However, in introducing medical and hospital insurance, most provinces including Manitoba decided to raise their portion of the required revenue through flat premiums, a very regressive form of taxation. In Manitoba, the combined medical and hospital premium amounted to roughly $200 a year per family before this government took office. In 1969, the combined family premium was reduced by 50 percent to $100 and the single premium reduced to $50. As of June 1, 1973, medical and hospital premiums will be completely eliminated for all Manitobans. Thus, the financing of medical and hospital insurance will more closely reflect the ability to pay principle.

However, nursing home care, dental services, and ambulance services are not covered by the public health insurance plans. If we recognize, as we have, that health care is a basic human right, it is unacceptable that some health services continue to be a privilege for those who can afford them. *The Province should strive to ensure that by 1980 all Manitobans receive all essential health care on the basis of need, not of financial ability.* This would require a further shift of responsibility for the costs of health services from individuals to society as a whole.

(c) The stay option:

While the *stay option* has been defined in this document primarily as a policy which is geared to prevent people from being economically coerced to leave those areas of the province in which they have chosen to live, it also has very definite implications in terms of health policy. Because the rural areas* are currently grossly under-serviced in comparison with Winnipeg, and because many essential services are not available in many rural communities, rural Manitobans must, in many cases, put up with less than adequate health care or leave their home communities in order to obtain necessary care or services. *The goal for 1980 should be to achieve a more equitable distribution of health resources throughout the province.* The Manitoba government should attempt to alleviate the problem of inadequate health services in rural areas by decentralizing health services through the development of a regionalized delivery system, and by a re-allocation of resources to emphasize home and community services.

(d) Widening participation:

Services must be responsive to the needs of the people they are designed to serve. The best way of achieving such responsiveness is by involving the consumers of services in the planning, delivery, and evaluation of services. The Manitoba government should attempt to increase the opportunities for consumers to become participants in the health services system during the seventies. The mechanisms employed to expand participation could

*Used loosely in this chapter to indicate all areas of the province outside Winnipeg.

range from the encouragement of the establishment of "residents' councils" in personal care homes, to district boards, representative of all groups in the community, for the operation of community health facilities and services, to assistance to "self-help" groups.

The balance of this chapter is devoted to describing particular policy thrusts which should be pursued during the seventies.

HEALTH CARE FACILITIES AND SERVICES

In this section, the term "health" is used to refer to those facilities and services primarily for the prevention and cure of physical illness. This includes a very broad range of facilities and services from acute care hospitals, to ambulatory care provided by the physician in private practice, to the home care services provided by a visiting public health nurse. There is little doubt that the overall calibre of the health services that do exist, as well as the quality of the people who provide them and the facilities in which they are provided are of a very high standard. Nevertheless, Manitoba is faced with significant problems in the health care area which must be overcome in the near future if all Manitobans are to have access to adequate health services.

First, the great increase in total health costs of recent years threaten standards of care for all income groups, for the public cannot allocate more and more of its limited resources to health services without endangering other essential services. Secondly, despite the implementation of universal medical and hospital care plans, access to health care remains unequal. Health resources are not distributed according to the needs of the population, and there are significant disparities in the health services available in different areas of the province. Thirdly, access is also restricted because of a fragmented delivery system. This last problem holds the key to the primary source of our difficulties. Our health care system is not presently organized in a manner which will produce an efficient and equitable distribution of scarce resources.

This absence of mechanisms or incentives in the system to ensure an efficient allocation of resources (efficient, in terms of a balance between needs and scarce resources) has allowed the build-up of expensive facilities and services when and where this was not always appropriate to health needs. This, in turn, has encouraged the use of these more costly resources, simply because less expensive but more medically appropriate services were not available.

It was to these problems which this government's *White Paper on Health Policy*, released in 1972, addressed itself.* The evidence documented in this paper clearly showed that there are definite disparities in the health services available to residents of the province. For example, some regions, such as eastern Manitoba, stand out as being very deficient in extended and acute care hospital facilities in relation to other regions in the province (although this does not necessarily mean they are deficient in an absolute sense). Physicians are concentrated primarily in Winnipeg, and specialty practice even more so. The figures show that people resident outside the major urban area obtain a startling proportion of care outside their home communities, while Winnipeg residents are virtually entirely cared for by Winnipeg services and facilities.

The *White Paper* showed that the costs of operating hospitals are the predominant component of health care expenditures, and that the building and maintenance of acute care beds are the overwhelmingly important factors in hospital expenditures. And since hospital costs have accelerated at a faster rate than other health services in the last decade, it is obvious that keeping down hospital expenditures, and, in particular expenditures for acute care beds, is essential. The data indicated that where alternative care facilities are avail-

*Government of Manitoba, *White Paper on Health Policy*, July, 1972.

able, people are less likely to use expensive acute care hospital facilities. On the other hand, where acute care beds are abundant, the demand for alternative care facilities diminishes and acute care beds are used instead. On the basis of these observations, as well as other evidence which indicated that a significant proportion of people using acute care beds do not require this sophisticated level of care, the *White Paper* concluded that more economical and appropriate utilization of health resources would be promoted by increasing the availability of alternative care facilities and services while containing quantities of acute care beds to widely accepted standards of bed to population ratios.

The *White Paper* also presented a descriptive analysis of the fragmented way in which services are delivered to the consumer. A complex mixture of governmental, quasi-governmental, and private agencies, all, for the most part, going their own separate ways, has resulted in little effective co-ordination between services. The *White Paper* concluded that this lack of a coherently planned health system, which emphasizes in a humane way the maintenance of health, has tragic consequences for large numbers of our population. The effects of this non-system are most strongly felt by those made vulnerable through age (the very young and old), by those in an unfavourable economic situation, by those with chronic diseases or disabilities, and by those in remote communities.

The specific strategy for reform proposed in the *White Paper* is, in many aspects, still a proposal. Nevertheless it reflects this government's commitment to rational and evolutionary reform. The system must be oriented away from a piecemeal approach to the resolution of particular health problems toward a comprehensive approach which sees each health problem as a component in an overall spectrum of need and seeks to develop complementary programs of action. We must switch our emphasis away from the building of facilities designed to assist people in periods of acute distress to programs designed to keep people as healthy and as independent as possible. This means concerted efforts to develop a range of alternative facilities and services in all areas of the province. Priority must be given to the expansion of public health and preventive programs, the development of home care services, ambulatory care, hostels, and personal care homes. This thrust is not only desirable because it makes more appropriate care available, but also because it is more efficient in dollar terms: it provides more "health" per unit of expenditure.

The development of the entire spectrum of health services must be accompanied by increasing integration of services at the local level and the introduction of incentives to use scarce resources efficiently. The delivery system must be decentralized to achieve a more equitable distribution of resources on a geographic basis, a more rational allocation of resources as between services, and a delivery system which is more sensitive to local needs. A decentralized delivery system will allow for different mixes of health services to correspond to the needs of the particular population to be served. The co-ordination and unification of the delivery system at the community level will produce greater accessibility to health care through provision of comprehensive care on a continuing basis and also will reduce inefficiency through the elimination of costly duplication and overlapping of services.

The principal mechanism proposed by the *White Paper* for the implementation of this approach is the development of a regionalized and integrated health service delivery system through the establishment of district health boards. The district board system proposed in the *White Paper* involves a reorganization of the administrative and fiscal base of services within a designated district. Existing services such as acute care hospitals, extended care hospitals, nursing homes, public health units, related social service programs, and community mental health programs would

be integrated within a single system at the district level. The area selected as a district unit would depend primarily on community cohesiveness and geographical contiguity, but also on the present pattern of service delivery. The districts would necessarily be small, at least initially. In the rural areas of Manitoba, for example, they might embrace three or four communities. The government would encourage the establishment of these district boards for each particular area through consultation with those concerned with the delivery of services in that area, *i.e.* both the consumers and the providers of services. Once established, the District Health Boards would be responsible for co-ordinating the process of integration of services and for functioning as the governing board as an integrated service system becomes operational. These boards would constitute the umbrella organization covering the appropriate range of health services for each district.

The *White Paper* does not suggest any rigid formula for determining the composition of these boards in the hopes that meaningful and mutually satisfactory arrangements could be devised through consultation with the communities involved. However, all sectors of the community should be represented on the boards in order that they reflect broad community interests and can encourage community involvement in decision-making. It is important that the providers of service, including administrative and support staff as well as health professionals, have a voice in the board in order to provide their expertise and also so that they can meet community representatives on a face-to-face basis in a sharing of responsibility for the planning and operation of local services. It is equally important that the consumers of services be given a predominant place on the board so that they can meaningfully participate in the making of decisions which vitally affect their lives.

Once established the District Health Board would have direct administrative responsibility for those programs, personnel, and facilities falling within its jurisdiction. Accordingly, it would be charged with planning, organizing and directing the staff and resources necessary for the provision of health services in its community. The board would not provide services directly, but would have sufficient authority to plan and control public funding for the total range of health services which can be provided on a community basis.

The provincial government would allocate a "global budget" to each board, *i.e.*, a lump sum which would enable the board to make its own decisions as to the allocation of resources between services within the district. This system of budgeting would give the board a great deal of flexibility in determining the mix of services it considers appropriate to the special needs of its population, but would also provide an incentive for the board to use its resources most efficiently.

The provincial government would retain the vital responsibility for the total of resources allocated to health care needs, and for the necessary equalization system required to ensure an equitable distribution of financial resources between the districts. It would retain the responsibility, less and less necessary as the system matures and develops, to protect the population as a whole against unworkable or exhorbitant local programs. Furthermore, it would continue to be responsible for the formulation of broad policy guidelines to be followed by the districts, for research and evaluation, for furnishing technical advice and assistance as necessary, and for the institution and funding of innovative programs.

The development of community health centres is an example of the innovative programs the provincial government will undertake in order to explore new and better methods of providing health services to Manitobans. Indeed, the com-

munity health centre is simply a sophisticated application at the community level of the concepts in health care delivery that the Manitoba government hopes to implement on a larger scale at the district level – regionalization and integration. Innovations in health manpower development and utilization can also be explored by the provincial government.

AMBULANCE SERVICES

Ambulance services, in their role of transporting sick or injured persons from an environment which is not wholly conducive to their physical well-being to one in which their medical needs can be most effectively satisfied, are an integral part of any total health care delivery system. However, in Manitoba, concommitant with the lack of an ideal system of health care delivery is the failure to develop an adequate and fully integrated ambulance service. There are gaps in services available, particularly outside Winnipeg. In general, quality of care is sub-standard. As well, because payment for ambulance care remains primarily a private responsibility, there are financial barriers to access.

Two basic problems can be identified as contributing to the less than adequate quality of care available. First, present standards for staff, vehicles and equipment are unsatisfactory. Most staff are inadequately trained for their jobs, and, while all ambulances are required to comply with quality standards established by regulation, the present regulations do little more than underwrite an existing level of quality. Second, the lack of co-ordination among the different agencies delivering ambulance care, as well as the general absence of effective communications systems between ambulances and hospitals, has resulted in great inefficiency which, in turn has serious effects on the care patients receive.

More fundamentally, however, these problems as well as the problems of gaps in service outside Winnipeg, relate to the absence of any mechanism for overall control or co-ordination of ambulance services. Ambulance services are now provided by a mixture of private, public and volunteer endeavour. Government has mainly confined itself to a relatively passive and minor regulatory role and there is little co-ordination between those agencies involved in the delivery of the service. Within this context planning to ensure that the right kind of service is available when and where necessary, is impossible, and the locus for responsibility, when problems arise, is unclear.

This government should be prepared to take the initiative for reform, but the co-operation of all agencies presently involved in providing this service will be required if reform is to take place.

First, the services of all agencies providing ambulance care must be co-ordinated. A comprehensive communications network is needed in order that ambulance vehicles can be linked by radio to their dispatchers, hospital of destination, and other ambulance vehicles, whether on land, air, or water. Further, ambulances should be co-ordinated in location across the province so that areas are covered according to need, population density, topographical features, and proximity to health care facilities, and so that an ambulance located in one area can provide a back-up service to ambulances in other areas under peak load problems. The province can provide the planning input required to ensure the most efficient distribution of services. In addition, in areas where private resources are not adequate to meet need, it may directly intervene to provide essential services. The Patient Air Transport Program, implemented in 1972 to provide payment for air ambulance services in the northern part of the province, is an example of the kind of direct public involvement which can be necessary.

Second, the present regulations governing ambulance cure provision need to be strengthened considerably so that ambulance services throughout the province satisfy adequate standards of staff training and ability, procedure, vehicles, equipment and premises. In order to ensure that these standards are maintained, a system of control and scrutiny, in addition to regulation is needed. The province should assume an aggressive role in review and evaluation of ambulance services since a system which provides a lifesaving service must be totally accountable to the public.

Finally, as ambulance care is an essential health service, payment for ambulance service cannot continue to be the private individual's problem, as, in most cases, it presently is. If financial barriers to ambulance care are to be removed, the public will have to recognize its social responsibility to purchase these services on a collective basis for all of its members. This can best be done through the inclusion of ambulance care as a benefit under our present Medicare Plan or through the establishment of a similar public scheme for this purpose. Whatever mechanism is chosen, its development should be a priority for this government.

PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

Essential quality medical preparations should be readily available to the people and available at the lowest possible cost. In Manitoba, availability in terms of access is reasonably satisfactory. There are 275 private pharmacies, several hospital dispensaries and three drug wholesalers and/or distributors. The distribution to dispensaries throughout the province is considered good, with fairly swift delivery to the remotest points. However, the prices of many essential drugs tend to be higher than is necessary, and, in many cases, are prohibitive.

Certain factors can be identified as responsible for the situation. Firstly, there is no drug manufacturing industry in the province and, therefore, Manitobans must rely on large pharmaceutical firms located outside the province as well as outside Canada. Secondly, the many distributors and dispensaries in the province purchase their stocks from these firms in a largely unsegmented and unco-ordinated manner. While the Manitoba Hospital Association purchases in bulk, with great savings on behalf of hospital dispensaries, the private pharmacies purchase their drugs separately except in the case of a few loose group agreements. This method of purchasing does not yield the economies of bulk buying and also results in varying retail prices for the same product. It is also clearly evident, as is stated in the *Harley Commission Report,** that a major factor affecting drug prices is the dispensing fee and the price levied at the retail level. Although pharmacists profess to charge "the cost price plus professional fee" method for prescriptions, the cost price shown in catalogues and manufacturers' lists are, indeed, very inflated and, therefore, do not permit the economies that might otherwise be made available to Manitobans in general.

Recognizing these problems, in 1971 the Manitoba Government established an Advisory Committee on Central Drug Purchasing and Distribution. One of the recommendations of the Committee's Report, released in 1972, was that legislation making drug substitution compulsory should be enacted.** As a result, amendments to the Pharmaceutical Act were passed in the 1972 legislative session which require pharmacists to substitute less costly drugs from an approved "Quality" formulary unless the prescribing physician indicates, in his own handwriting, that there is to be no substitution.

The Manitoba Drug Standards and Therapeutics Committee, composed of representatives of the Manitoba Medical Asso-

Report of the Special Committee of the House of Commons on Drug Costs and Prices, Ottawa: Queen's Printer 1967.

**Report of the Advisory Committee on Central Drug Purchasing and Distribution*, April, 1972.

ciation, College of Physicians and Surgeons in Manitoba, the Manitoba Pharmaceutical Association, the University of Manitoba Pharmacology and Therapeutics Department, as well as two hospital pharmacists, was established to develop the formulary of acceptable interchangeable drugs as a guide to pharmacists in filling prescriptions, and to ensure the maintenance of high standards in drug quality. This drug substitution program, which comes into effect this year, may have an impact on the cost of prescription drugs to the consumer. Ultimately, however, an interchangeable drug formulary, coupled with a provincial formulary of non-interchangeable items, as well as central purchasing through possibly the existing warehousing and distribution facilities within our province, might be one of the many answers for the lowering of medication costs. Yet another could be an eventual National Formulary with price identification and monitoring, as well as central purchasing, which could be performed by the federal government.

Nevertheless, the optimum in price, cost and quality at the pharmacy level lies in the rationalization of pharmacy, starting with the School of Pharmacy itself, down to the apothecary system which would result in restoring both the pharmacist's professionalism as well as the control of quality and cost at the retail level.

In the long term, this government's goal should be to bring drugs, like all other essential health services, within the ambit of a publicly financed program such as Medicare. In the 1973 legislative session, the Government will take a very important step towards this objective through the introduction of a bill which will reduce drug costs for old age pensioners. The Province will pay 80 percent of the cost of all prescription drugs exceeding $50 for a single pensioner, or $100 for a family in receipt of old age pensions.

DENTAL SERVICES

This very important component of the spectrum of health care services has not been immune to the basic problems that pervade the whole area. While the number of dentists relative to the population of Manitoba is only slightly under the national average, dental care resources are unevenly distributed throughout the province.* Indeed, the disparities appear even more pronounced than the disparities which exist in the delivery of medical care if the distribution of dental professionals in the province is considered a good indicator. The Winnipeg dentist-to-population ratio of 1 dentist per 2,560 people compares to a dentist-to-population ratio of 1/8,600 outside of Winnipeg.** There are 16 dental specialists practising in Winnipeg, and none outside of the city. Of the approximately fifty dental hygienists registered and active in the province, only three work outside Winnipeg and one of these is an employee of the provincial government. Clearly, a Winnipeg resident has far better chances of obtaining adequate dental care than has his rural counterpart. His chances are even better if he has a good income.

Dental services are not covered under public health insurance and thus it remains the family's or individual's responsibility (or burden, as the case may be) to pay for necessary dental services from out of their own financial resources, regardless of income.*** While data is not

*The overall dentist-to-population ratio in Manitoba is one dentist per 3,627 population. This compares to a national ratio of 1/3,310. B.C. has the best ratio, at 1/2,519. Manitoba ranks fourth of the provinces in dentist to population ratios. (1968 data). The Royal Commission on Health Services (1964) projected a dentist to population ratio of 1/2,450 by 1991 as an acceptable ratio, supported by a corps of formally trained dental auxiliaries capable of performing some intra oral treatment, traditionally undertaken only by dentists in Canada.

**These figures include only dentists in private practice and are 1971 data. Comparatively, the physician to population ratio in Winnipeg is 1/789 and outside of Winnipeg is 1/1,685.

***The Social Allowance Health Services Plan pays for dental services for persons who qualify for assistance.

currently available in Manitoba on the relative dental health of various income groups, nor on the extent to which various income groups utilize dental services,* it does not seem unrealistic to assume that, as with medical care before public insurance, payment constitutes a definite barrier to dental services, in particular to preventive dental care.

The predominant model for dental care delivery in Manitoba is the dentist in solo private practice, operating his own office, and providing care on fee-for-service basis, perhaps with the help of a salaried dental hygienist or assistant. Except in rare instances (such as the Mount Carmel Clinic where dental services are provided as an essential part of health care) dental services are provided in isolation from other kinds of health services. This fragmented method of delivery does not take into account the close relationship which may exist between dental problems and other health problems. As well, because there is no system for allocating dental care resources according to need, there are many gaps and deficiencies in service, especially in rural areas, and also for certain groups of people with special needs, such as residents of nursing homes.

The Manitoba government's Dental Health Services agency has over the years attempted to breach these gaps. Focusing primarily on preventive health care, it has encouraged communal water supply fluoride enrichment and undertaken topical fluoride treatment programs for children in rural communities. It also conducts a dental health educational program to certain groups, especially schools, and undertakes dental examinations to determine treatment needs in schools, nursing homes, and day care centres. It arranges for special dental clinics in under-serviced rural areas as well as other special projects designed to improve the delivery of services in these areas. Unfortunately, the scarcity of financial and human resources available to the Dental Health Services programs has placed definite limitations on the comprehensiveness of service, *i.e.*, the numbers of people actually served. Continuity of care is most difficult to achieve in these circumstances.

The most pressing problem discussed above is undoubtedly the inadequacy of dental services in areas outside of Winnipeg. The usual suggestions put forth to remedy this problem are to increase the total supply of dentists, in the hopes that some will locate outside the major urban centre, and/or to offer financial incentives for dentists to practise in rural areas. The Manitoba government has tried both these approaches and both have been relatively unsuccessful.

A dental college was established in 1957, and despite the fact that over 265 dentists have graduated since 1962, our provincial dentist-to-population ratio has remained

*Data on dental services, as compared to data on medical services, is relatively scarce. Most of the data on medical care is supplied by the Manitoba Health Services Commission which administers hospital and health insurance. Since dental care is not covered, the same source cannot be utilized.

TABLE 9-1

MANITOBA DENTISTS IN PRIVATE PRACTICE, IN SALARIED POSITIONS, OR MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

	Winnipeg	Outside of Winnipeg	Salaried	Canadian Armed Forces Registrants	Total
1962	199	63	29	–	291
1967	203	55	26	–	284
1969	204	62	34	6	306
1971	202	58	40	6	306

Source: Dental Services Section, Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development.

relatively constant over this past decade. Only about 40 percent of our dental graduates remain to practice in Manitoba, and they have tended to locate in Winnipeg. Numerous financial incentive schemes, from bursary programs to private practice incentive grants, have failed to attract dentists into non-urban areas. Table 9-1 illustrates this situation.

Undoubtedly, the reluctance of dentists to locate in rural areas is related to the general problem of rural depopulation, and hopefully, the *stay option* and decentralizing policies outlined elsewhere in this document will improve and stabilize the rural environment and thus more dentists may be willing to locate outside Winnipeg.

On the other hand, the solution to our dental manpower problem does not necessarily depend only upon the numbers and distribution of dentists. As is the case in respect to medical manpower, there is a growing consensus in the dental care field that many tasks now handled primarily, if not exclusively, by dentists, could be done just as well by less highly trained and lower paid dental workers. Auxiliary health workers can work with the dentist is a "team" set-up, with the dentist performing the diagnosis and treatment for which he is trained, and the auxiliary workers performing those tasks which do not require the dentist's expertise. This concept is more efficient both in terms of time and money. Some simple but effective preventive dental procedures can be performed by dental workers even without the supervision of a dentist.

Manitoba is already moving in the direction of differential use of manpower in the dental care area, with the establishment of a school of dental hygiene in 1965, and formal training programs for dental assistants and dental auxiliaries. Development of these categories of dental workers is a pre-requisite to the implementation of the dental health team concept. However, these categories of dental manpower function mainly as auxiliaries to the dentist whereas the need in rural Manitoba is for dental manpower which can provide preventive dental care without the supervision of a dentist.

Great Britain and New Zealand already train and employ a kind of worker who is at a level of expertise intermediate between the dentist and our dental hygienist. The province of Saskatchewan has also recently implemented a training program for this category of worker. However, institution of a similar training program in Manitoba is not considered to be an immediate solution to our problem. It would be relatively expensive and it would be some time before the graduates would be ready to move into the field. There is also the possibility that our experience with the training of dentists would be repeated: the therapists might not choose to locate in the rural areas where they are needed.

A more fruitful course for the immediate future would appear to be training dental assistants in the public health area who are able to perform a preventive dental health role without the continuous supervision or presence of a dentist. Trainees would be selected from people resident in the communities which are in most need of dental workers, for presumably they would be willing to remain in their community. Their training would be relatively unexpensive and could take place primarily in their own community or in a regional centre close to it.

The development of community health centres in the next few years may also help to attract dentists and other dental workers to the rural areas of Manitoba. The collegial atmosphere of the health care team working within a cohesive community towards a common goal may appear as an attractive environment to some dental care workers.

The best solution to the problem of payment for dental services would be the assumption by the public of the costs of these services. This could be done by a program similar in nature to the present

plan of universal public insurance for medical and hospital services. Manitoba should strive to ensure that such a universal plan is operational by 1980, but the problem can be very significantly reduced in the near future by the implementation of a comprehensive dental public health scheme, focusing on preventive rather than remedial treatment.

This would entail increased public expenditures on dental health education, mobile dental clinics, and so on, but the major component of the public dental health plan would be a comprehensive dental care program aimed primarily at preschool and school age children up to the age of 12, as this age group is the most crucial in terms of preventive treatment, and generally the most receptive in terms of preventive measures such as topical fluoride treatment. Since the school is the natural focal point in the community for the delivery of services relating to this age group, all necessary equipment for the program would be installed in designated schools where space is available. In small communities where the cost of permanent installation of equipment is not warranted, mobile units would be used.

The public health dental assistant discussed earlier in this section would serve as the core worker in this program. Permanently located in the community, he or she would perform on a regular basis the preventive dental health procedures which can significantly reduce the need for acute dental treatment later. More complex services would be delivered by visiting teams of dentists, dental hygienists, and perhaps dental therapists.

In those communities in which community health centres are established, the public health dental assistant and the dental care team would relate very closely to the total health care team in the centre. On a regional basis, the public dental health care program would be planned in conjunction with, and delivered in coordination with, other public health and social service programs.

MENTAL HEALTH CARE

In the past, society's answer to the problem of mental illness was to ostracize its victims from "normal" society, primarily for the protection of "normal" society. Placed in large institutions, basically custodial in function, the patient was effectively cut off from family, friends, and his community, and, in most cases, left there to languish for the remainder of his life. This kind of response to the problems of the mentally ill was essentially due to a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature and causes of mental illness, and also to a very different conception of society's responsibilities to the mentally ill.

Today we realize that mental illness is largely the result of social and environmental factors external to the individual, and not due to any inherent deficiencies in the individual himself. The social and economic system, while establishing certain norms of behaviour and performance, has also imposed barriers to meeting these expectations. Behavioural and emotional disorders are fundamentally rooted in the social system itself. To begin with, then, society has a basic responsibility to attempt to eradicate those social and economic problems that contribute to mental illness by the provision of adequate incomes, good education, recreational outlets, and so on. When mental illness occurs, it must be ready to provide the kind of treatment, services and environment the mentally ill person needs in order to learn to cope effectively with day-to-day living and become a positively functioning member of his community.

Mental health care must focus on eliminating or minimizing the stresses which have led to mental illness in an individual. As well, the aim must be to provide those supports which will enable the individual to maintain as normal and as independent a life style as is consistent with the nature and gravity of his particular illness. Institutionalization of any kind, in other words, should be the last resort. It

separates the individual from the outside world, and effectively labels him as an aberrant, if not an outcast. It presents an artificial and abnormal environment to the patient who is expected to function in a normal environment. It cuts him off from his family, friends, and social contacts, and thus understanding and personal interest in his recovery. Alienated from the outside world, institutionalized patients, especially those who are resident for long periods of time, often remain dependent upon the institution long after their initial symptoms have disappeared. To the greatest extent that is possible in terms of the patient's needs and the availability of resources, patients should be assisted to stay in their own homes, or, at least, in their home communities.

The ability of the mentally ill to remain in the community is determined by the availability of, and accessibility to, a full range of services including mental health care itself. For example, if his illness is such that he cannot work, he will probably need financial assistance to support himself and any dependents. He may need the services of a homemaker to assist in preparing meals, housecleaning, or looking after children. He will undoubtedly need regular visits from a community worker, such as a social worker or public health nurse.

Fortunately in Manitoba in 1972, the system of comprehensive community-based programs that are needed for the care of the mentally ill are now being developed. At the same time, however, mental health care is still dominated by the institutional model.

While the two large mental institutions at Brandon and Selkirk have been gradually reducing their in-patient load in favour of expanded out-reach and out-patient services, the institution remains as the focal-point of the system, especially outside Winnipeg. The patient who falls ill in a community some hundreds of miles from the institutions must rely for care on periodic sessions with a visiting mental health care team from the major institutions, or face institutionalization far from his community and family.

Access to care outside institutions is not so difficult for persons who happen to reside in Winnipeg. Since almost all the psychiatrists in private practice in Manitoba are concentrated in Winnipeg*, the persons who need mental health care have far, far better chances of being able to receive individualized treatment while remaining in their own homes and community. In addition, the only general hospitals with psychiatric wards are located in Winnipeg. This means that persons who need short-term intensive institutional care may obtain this close to their own homes.

The greater availability of mental health care resources and other related services, however, does not necessarily mean that the Winnipeg resident has effective access to the comprehensive range of services he needs. There is a complex mixture of services, programs, and facilities provided by a similarly complex mixture of agencies, governmental, quasi-governmental, and private. There is little co-ordination between these services and agencies, and less between the mental health care services and those other community services which must be provided in a complementary fashion with mental health care.

Planning and program development for mental health care in the seventies should be directed towards overcoming the major problems in mental health care delivery that have been discussed above. Resources can be redeployed to effect a more equitable distribution of resources throughout the province. Resources should be reallocated to shift the emphasis from institutional care to community-based

*According to the M.H.S.C. data, 33 of the 34 psychiatrists in private practice and receiving over $10,000 in M.H.S.C. payments in Manitoba in 1970 were located in Winnipeg. In the same year, Winnipeg residents received five times more psychiatric services than non-Winnipegers.

care. Fragmentation in the delivery of services should be reduced by a reorganization of the system of delivery of care.

The principle mechanism for accomplishing these objectives would be a decentralization of service delivery and planning by the development of a regionalized system. The regional boundaries can probably be coterminous with the regions established by the Department of Health and Social Development for the integrated delivery of public health and social services. This would facilitate the integration and co-ordination of mental health care programs and services within the region, as well as co-ordination with the other kinds of community services which are essential to the implementation of a truly community-based mental health care system. The regional administration can be delegated a substantial degree of authority in determining needs in the region, and thus, in decisions affecting the mix of services and facilities in the region.

Within the regions, emphasis should be placed on the development of community-based programs, including alternative methods of delivery to institutional care. The establishment and expansion of comprehensive home care programs to enable the patient to remain with his family should be a primary thrust. Partial-care facilities, such as day care (or evening care) facilities, can provide personal, family and vocational counselling, recreational and educational services, as well as sheltered workshop programs. Foster and group homes, as well as hostels, can provide back-up residential care as needed.

The success of our attempt to shift the approach in mental health care to the community will depend largely on the success of complementary efforts to redeploy mental health care personnel into the community and their ability to function as part of a health care team. In areas outside of Winnipeg, as has been pointed out, the manpower problem is most acute. It is unlikely that there will be a significant shift of psychiatrists into rural areas regardless of efforts in the public sector. Of necessity, we may have to rely on other kinds of mental health care workers, especially in areas outside of Winnipeg. But if this is necessary because of scarcity of manpower, it is, at the same time, a step in the right direction.

A community-based program is best executed by a multi-disciplinary team of health and social service workers with special expertise in the problems and needs of the mentally ill. Psychiatrists traditionally give care on a one-to-one basis, and the method by which they are normally reimbursed for their services (fee-for-service) acts as a barrier to working with other workers who are paid on a different basis. They are very highly skilled and highly trained, as well as expensive, and their expertise should be reserved for those patients who require this level and kind of care. They should be available as consultants to the rest of the mental health care team, and serve as back-up support when their specialized expertise is required.

Educational and training programs can be altered to prepare mental health personnel to work in the community. For example, psychiatric nurses are now trained for the most part in institutional settings. Their training should, on the other hand, be directed towards learning the skills they will need to help the mentally ill at home, and in the community. As well, it should bring them into contact with other kinds of health and social service workers, so that they can develop the skills necessary to function effectively in the health care team. Efforts will also be made to attract local people to work in mental health care programs. In the rural areas, community-based training programs aimed at developing new kinds of workers with para-professional skills are another possibility the government can explore in order to build resources within the community for mental health care.

INCOME MAINTENANCE

The functioning of a market economy provides no guarantee that everyone will receive an adequate income in relation to needs. Those outside the labour force – the aged, the ill, the infirm – are cut off from current production and must rely on whatever savings they have been able to accumulate in the past. Those able to work but unable to find jobs must rely on whatever unemployment insurance benefits they have built up – benefits that will eventually be exhausted in periods of protracted unemployment. Those whose work does not yield an adequate income to cover the barest of necessities must accept help wherever it can be found and, somehow, miraculously, "upgrade" themselves so as to qualify for better paying employment.

The federal pension system, comprising the Old Age Security Plan (O.A.S.), the Guaranteed Income Supplement (G.I.S.), and the Canada Pension Plan (C.P.P.), provides the basis of an income support system for the elderly. The cornerstone of the system is the $100 monthly payment under the O.A.S. to all persons aged 65 and over. In addition, individuals who have been members of the labour force for even short periods of time are entitled to receive an earnings-related pension under the Canada Pension Plan.* For those of the elderly who may have never been part of the labour force or whose income apart from the O.A.S. is very low, there is the Guaranteed Income Supplement – a means-tested pension that pays up to a monthly maximum of $70.14 for a single individual and $124.60 for a couple. Thus, the minimum annual income (O.A.S. payment, plus G.I.S.) for all individuals 65 and over is $2,041.68 and for all couples 65 and over is $3,895.20.

In the case of people under 65, income support is provided on a different and less comprehensive basis. With the advent of the Canada Assistance Plan, each person now has the right to have his basic needs taken care of when circumstances make it impossible for him to support himself. Under the provisions of the act, the federal government agrees to cover 50 percent of the province's total assistance costs without limit as to amount, provided the province conforms with the requirements of the act. A major component of the act is that the province agrees to meet the "basic requirements" of individuals in need. "Basic requirements" are defined to include food, shelter, clothing, fuel, utilities, household supplies and personal requirements. Special needs can also be met if they are necessary for the safety, well-being and rehabilitation of persons in need.

It is a major intention of the act to have it recognized that persons who are unable to support themselves have a *right* to assistance. Thus while it is each person's primary responsibility to support himself, if he or she is unable to work or cannot find suitable employment, there is the right to receive sufficient welfare assistance to meet the basic needs of the individual and his family. The only limit to this right is the obligation to accept suitable employment, training, or rehabilitation, when age, health and family responsibilities make this possible.

Viewed in the perspective of the overall pattern of social security, which includes old age pensions, unemployment insurance, etc., it is clear that social allowances are a kind of support of last resort. Individuals who apply for social allowances are those who for one reason or another are not adequately taken care of by the other programs. As a support of last resort, the welfare program in a sense underlines the whole social security system. It is the only program where the level of support is based strictly on an assessment of needs. And in a very large degree, the level of

*The C.P.P. also provides survivor and disability benefits and hence extends the system of income maintenance to all families whose earnings have ceased due to retirement, death or disability of the principle wage earner.

support provided is minimal. If people were denied this support, they would either suffer severe privation or they would have to rely on the support they receive from friends and relatives or from private charitable sources. Undoubtedly, these latter sources were the basis of support in an earlier age. However, with the weakening of family ties in the modern economy, with the increasing hazards of unemployment and obsolescence of skills, it is clear that society must fulfill this important welfare role. This too is the basis of the need for a public pension system.

In Manitoba, responsibility for the provision of social allowances is divided between the province and its municipalities in the following manner. Any new applicant for welfare applies to either the municipality or the province as he feels appropriate or as so directed. In some municipalities where there is no welfare by-law and in unorganized territories, the province assumes the entire responsibility for welfare. The municipalities handle four types of cases: (a) those who are mentally or physically handicapped for a period of less than ninety days; (b) those mothers with dependent children who have been deserted by a husband for a period of less than ninety days, or whose husband has been sentenced to imprisonment for a period of less than ninety days; (c) the employable unemployed; (d) transients. Thus, in general, the province assumes responsibility for the longer term cases such as the disabled, the aged, the infirm and the mothers of dependent children after an initial waiting period. However, some of the employable unemployed may remain on municipal assistance for a lengthy period of time. The provincial government reimburses the municipality for a share of the costs it incurs on the following basis. Welfare costs below an amount equal to one mill on the municipality's equalized assessment costs are shared in a 40:60 ratio between the municipality and the province. Costs in excess of this amount are in effect shared in a 20:80 ratio. When an unemployed person who is resident in one municipality moves elsewhere in the province, the municipal share of his support will be charged back to the municipality where he first established residence. In municipalities that have no welfare by-law and in unorganized territories the province assumes responsibility for all individuals who are in need of assistance. As a result of legislation passed in the last session of the legislature, all municipalites must now provide welfare under an appropriate by-law.

Under the above division of responsibilities, the level of support received will vary depending on whether an individual receives municipal or provincial support, and on the particular municipality to which he applies. For the province and the individual municipalities each set their scale of assistance, and the levels of support vary widely. In a few instances, assistance granted by some municipalities in a particular category exceeds that provided by the province. In many municipalities, however, the assistance granted is very meagre. Inevitably, this provides an incentive for people to move out of municipalities where scales are low and welfare is administered in a restrictive manner. Ideally, the province should have a minimum scale of allowances.

WHO RECEIVES WELFARE?

The popular "myth" that the typical welfare recipient is an able bodied individual with a large family who refuses to work because he is better off on welfare has little substance. The employables on welfare are often those who have not built up a claim to unemployment insurance, either because they are the young who have just entered the labour force, or they are individuals whose jobs have not allowed them to build up a claim to insurance benefits.

The *Barber Report** provides detailed information on the kinds of people receiving social assistance. A very large proportion of those receiving welfare assistance are the aged, the infirm, the unemployable and sole support mothers with dependent children.

Table 9-2 presents data on the numbers of provincial social assistance recipients by category.

The continued importance of the aged in the provincial social allowance picture is largely a matter of their need for health services and special care. Slightly over one-third of the aged social allowance cases are in institutions, and a very large part of the costs of providing for the support of aged people in Manitoba reflects the heavy costs of providing institional care. The aged not in institutions generally receive health services only (essentially drugs, dental and optical care); the average cost of this health care is roughly $60 per person per annum.

Slightly over 40 percent of social allowance expenditure goes to recipients of mothers allowance. This has been the most rapidly growing category of social assistance in terms of caseload although the costs per case have grown very slowly. An important factor in this increase in the caseload was the change in regulations which made additional people eligible for social allowances. Originally mothers allowances were provided only to widows and their dependents or to orphans. Then, over the years eligibility was expanded to include families where the breadwinner had deserted for four or more years, unmarried mothers with more than one child, families deserted for one year or more. Finally, as a result of legislative changes assented to on July 16, 1970, and effective in September, 1970, it was expanded to include unmarried mothers with one child, mothers deserted for three months or more and mothers whose husbands had been imprisoned for three months or more. Mothers allowances also include cases where the husband is suffering from some disability.

Many of the recipients of mothers allowances are potentially employable, but the present system of welfare militates against their participation in the labour force. More will be said on this topic later.

Another major group of welfare recipients are those who are unemployable, either on a short term or a long term basis. This group includes people who are physically or mentally ill or incapacitated. Individuals within this group who require special care are classified as infirm. Roughly 20 percent of welfare expenditures are received by this group. It should be noted that not all "unemployables" are so classified for reasons of specific physical or mental disability; some individuals fall into this category because they are simply too old to join the labour force. Many of these people are women who have lost their husband's support and are not eligible for the Old Age Security Pension.

The proportion of individuals receiving welfare who are capable of working and supporting themselves is very low. "Unemployed employables" make up between five percent and eight percent of the provincial case load, and receive roughly eight

TABLE 9-2

PROVINCIAL SOCIAL ASSISTANCE CASELOAD BY REASON FOR ASSISTANCE, JULY 31, 1972

Reason for Assistance	Caseload (rounded)
Aged	9,700
Mothers Allowance	7,900
Unemployables	4,800
Infirm	3,100
Vocational Rehabilitation	1,300
Unemployed Employable	1,100
Student Aid	400
Supplemented Income	200
Other	600
TOTAL	29,100

Source: Department of Health and Social Development, Statistical Bulletin, July, 1972.

**Welfare Policy in Manitoba*, a Report to the Planning and Priorities Committee of Cabinet, December, 1972.

percent of social allowance payments. Many of these individuals are on the welfare rolls as a result of the chronic and protracted unemployment that has existed since the late 1960's. The unemployment insurance system was set up to soften the hazards of short-term unemployment; it was never intended to provide benefits on a long-term basis to six or seven percent of the labour force. Consequently, as individuals exhaust their benefits and see no job prospects whatsoever, they are forced to turn to welfare for assistance. Similarly, the fact that unemployment has such a heavy incidence among the 18-24 year old group means that many young workers have simply never had a chance to become established in the labour market. Because they have never been able to build up unemployment insurance benefits, they too must turn to welfare for support. Unfortunately, the longer this group of "unemployed employables" remains without work, the greater the chance these individuals will take on characteristics that will render them, in fact, unemployable.

Thus, in summary, it appears that the vast majority of welfare recipients are people who can in no sense be expected to provide for themselves. Without welfare, these people would be destitute. The small group of people who are in fact capable of supporting themselves but receive welfare by virtue of unemployment should not be seen as the beneficiaries of society's largesse, but rather as the victims of society's failure to provide meaningful employment for all who desire it.

FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

Income maintenance policies cannot be viewed in isolation, but rather as part of comprehensive social policy. Thus, income security arrangements must have enough flexibility to alleviate interruption or inadequacy of income and to prevent the human and social deterioration caused by poverty. Income security is also tied intimately to policies pertaining to manpower, health and social services, housing and leisure.

Present federal-provincial financial arrangements, however have served to perpetuate an ad hoc approach to social welfare. By creating a variety of expensive and unrelated programs, the federal government has prevented the development of a comprehensive social welfare policy aimed at the eradication of poverty.

The basic federal technique of shared-cost programs leaves much to be desired from the point of view of a province. These programs have not always been lasting. For example, the federal withdrawal from unemployment relief at the end of World War II left the provinces committed to programs they could ill afford. The fact that existing shared-cost programs may be withdrawn or substantially modified at any time as a result of influences and pressures from outside the province has in large measure been responsible for the lack of long-term planning in welfare services.

There are also far too many rigidities built into the federal system particularly regarding the Canada Assistance Plan. Under C.A.P.'s 50/50 cost-sharing formula the province must make several arbitrary and complex distinctions in order to get its "50 cent dollars". Under C.A.P., there is little latitude to carry out the necessary education, health and corrective programs so essential to social development and particularly important in interrupting and stopping the poverty cycle.

Our aged persons in heavy care nursing homes benefit from C.A.P. only when they are indigent. Otherwise they must pay their own way, often using the last of their lifetime savings.

The rehabilitative potential of C.A.P. work activity projects is hampered by federal insistence that they establish the criteria and approve each project. This is further complicated by the federal refusal to pay the capital costs of work activity projects.

The Government of Manitoba firmly believes that the federal government has a fundamental obligation to the Canadian people and the provinces in which they reside in the field of social development. This federal responsibility is to devise a formula which would provide adequate resources to the provinces while at the same time allowing sufficient flexibility to accommodate differing provincial priorities. At the same time the federal government should permit the provinces sufficient flexibility to design and implement social development programs which reflect provincial priorities.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME EXPERIMENT

One aspect in the development of an integrated social policy is some form of guaranteed annual income program. Again, it is the responsibility of the federal government to provide adequate financing for such a scheme, and it is indeed disappointing that federal proposals for welfare reform have shied away from such a comprehensive approach. Consequently, Manitoba has set about to develop an experiment in the provision of a guaranteed annual income. It must be stressed, however, that the G.A.I. should not be seen as a panacea for poverty. Rather, it is *part* of the strategy necessary to bring about an elimination of poverty, and should be viewed as supportive of the other policies set out in *Guidelines*.

The existence of a G.A.I. experiment should not preclude the consideration of other modifications or reforms of the current welfare system. The existing system is neither entirely rational nor comprehensive. Consequently, the recent Government announcements regarding changes in the rates of social assistance and in the areas of work incentive and job creation are timely. Evaluation of all these approaches should continue in the future on a permanent basis.

EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

There is a good deal of public concern about the number of welfare recipients who are capable of working but instead are living off the public purse. As shown previously, the numbers are not very great – approximately 1,100 recipients of provincial social assistance are considered "unemployed employables".

In one sense, the concern is misdirected, for it is not the individuals who are really to blame for their plight but the system itself which does not generate jobs for all those who seek them. No matter what the degree of personal motivation, no matter what the level of work incentives, if there are not jobs to be had, there will be employable people on welfare.

In another sense, however, there is reason for concern. The longer an employable person remains out of work the more likely it is he will develop characteristics that render him increasingly unemployable. As it is, periods of chronic unemployment tend to bear heaviest on the older worker, the worker with limited or obsolete skills, the worker at the margin of the labour force. Consequently, this government has developed a variety of programs that attempt to re-introduce these individuals to gainful employment.

The Department of Health and Social Development operates a placement service which both solicits jobs and matches them to clients.

In addition, there are a variety of public employment programs directed at people who are "difficult to employ". It must be stressed that none of these programs involve make-work projects, in that the jobs are not dead-end, but the programs are designed to combine practical work experience, work-related training, and supportive counselling services to help people achieve a readiness for employment.

Thus, the Department of Health and Social Development runs work activity projects, which have generally concentrated on

rural community improvements and, more recently, home repair services. The New Careers Program of the Department of Education concentrates on selecting and training members of the "employable poor" for para-professional positions in government departments. The Northern Manpower Corps provides job placement and rehabilitative services to northern residents. This program has already had outstanding success in providing productive and creative employment for native people in such communities as Churchill and Wabowden.

These various programs offer a good deal of potential for re-integrating the unemployed back into the labour market and loosening their ties with the welfare system. Consequently, the government has proposed to expand those undertakings in a co-ordinated way so as to deal imaginatively and effectively with the problems of the employable unemployed.

FAMILY SERVICES

The family remains the basic social unit in our society. It is within the family that children receive the basic essentials to physical growth and well-being – nutrition, shelter, clothing – and the care, love, and encouragement which they need to develop into healthy and independent individuals. All members of the family depend upon it for warmth and affection when normal and healthy conditions prevail, and also for support and care when they do not. The thrust of family services is to optimize the potential for such normal and healthy conditions to prevail in the family. The primary goal then is to provide preventive rather than reactive services – to provide those supports which are necessary to prevent breakdowns, rather than to respond only to situations which have already assumed crisis proportions. Clearly, family services can only play a limited role in the achievement of this goal simply because most of the factors which contribute to family crisis or breakdowns are external to the family and are fundamentally effects on the social and economic structure of society. But, if the role of family services is limited, they are nevertheless important in providing those supports which a family may need in order to sustain itself.

Counselling services covering the range of problems and issues which relate particularly to the family situation, are an essential, if traditional, aspect of family services. However, counselling services should not be directed to *telling* the family what is best for it, nor to rescuing families from problems when they occur. Instead, the goal of family counselling should be to provide the kind of information and knowledgeable advice a family may require to make those kinds of decisions which will prevent difficulties from arising, and to work out their own solutions to problems when they do appear.

Counselling services should offer information and advice to families on all those concerns which are of major importance in the maintenance and development of successful family life. Such concerns range from those with a health component – nutrition and hygiene, for example – to those with social and legal elements – separation, divorce, family discord, adoption, eviction, debts, credit, budgeting, insurance, and mortgages. Educational and informational programs are also needed to prepare people for marriage itself, and for parenthood.

Not the least important of the counselling services to which a family should have access is family planning. Family planning, by eliminating the fear of unwanted pregnancies and by making possible the spacing of children, strengthens the family and establishes a sound basis for responsible parenthood. The economically advantaged have enjoyed the benefits of family planning for some time. The economically disadvantaged have not, and have had to pay the greater price of generations without reasonable opportunities. The old adage about

"the rich get richer and the poor get children" has been shown to be true. It is in the economically deprived group where the greatest population increases have been recorded. The result has been the familiar vicious cycle of poverty, large family, inadequate education and vocational training, underachievement, failure to successfully compete in the job market, failure to satisfy the needs of one's own family, poverty, and so round again for the next generation.

A comprehensive family planning program, making available education, information, and assistance to all who require it, is a basic necessity if this cycle is to be broken. Like any other social service, it should not be incumbent upon any individual family or group of families to utilize such a service. At the same time, it should be available to all so that if a family feels it needs assistance in this respect, it is able to obtain it.

Good day care facilities for children should be accessible to all families, not only because they provide a service to families in terms of relieving them of part of the responsibility of looking after children, a service which may be essential for a variety of reasons, but also because they can provide a very valuable learning experience during a stage in the child's development when this is most crucial.

Low income and single parent families have a special need for access to day-care centres for, without them, the parent usually is forced to remain at home to look after the children and as a result, will be unable to maintain employment and may become dependent upon welfare to provide a subsistence level of income for the family. Even in families with two parents, the fact that one may be obliged to remain at home may deprive the family of an important source of income which may be needed to maintain an adequate standard of shelter, nutrition and so on.

There are also important reasons, other than the basic economic ones, why day care facilities are essential. Enforced confinement in the home in order to care for children often causes personal stress to the parent and this in turn may be disruptive for the family. Day care centres provide a service which, if utilized on a regular basis or even occasionally, will allow both parents to pursue self-fulfilling vocations outside the home, to become involved in community life, or to achieve personal satisfaction and enrichment in other ways which the role of full-time homemaker may not permit. But even the parent who is perfectly content and self-fulfilled in the job of homemaker may need the assistance of day care services in order to be able to perform his or her job satisfactorily.

Child care is not the easiest job, especially when it is only one component in the tasks a homemaker must do. The parent on whom this responsibility primarily falls, usually the mother, is not immune to illness or injury in the overwhelming fatigue and depletion of energies her job can, and often does, entail. As well, parents of children with special needs, such as handicapped and retarded children, require day care assistance if all of their children are not to suffer some degree of neglect.

Families may also require help within the home in order to cope with the stress of daily chores, especially in the absence of adequate or accessible day care services to care for pre-school age children. Problems may arise in a family because of the absence of one, or both, parents — whether such an absence is of shorter or longer duration. Illness in the family may mean that the homemaker-parent cannot handle his or her normal duties to the family because of the additional demands placed upon him or her by the sick members of the family. For example, the extended family which is striving to keep an elderly or disabled member of the family within the warmth of the family environment may be unable to

keep up with routine family demands at the same time. The need is even greater when the family homemaker is herself sick, convalescing, or physically disabled. In these cases, homemaker services should be available to assist the family, on a daily or live-in basis if the need justifies this.

Presently in Manitoba most of the services that have been described are available to a greater or less degree. However, accessibility is limited because of limited supply, financial barriers in some instances, social stigmas attached to the receipt of certain services, geographical disparities in service, and a fragmented delivery system.

In the seventies, the province will attempt to ameliorate the last mentioned two problems – fragmented delivery of services and geographical disparities, by the development of a regionalized and integrated health and social service delivery system.

The problem of the social stigma which remains connected to many social services is certainly not one that a government or anybody can easily overcome. For example, many families are reluctant to seek counselling or other kinds of assistance, primarily because they believe it would single them out as aberrant or malfunctioning individuals. Or they may feel that sending their children to day care centres is an abdication of their responsibility as parents. Such fears are undoubtedly the product of an era, (which is not yet past, unfortunately) when social services were provided on a charitable basis to those individuals and families who had not the ability, determination or initiative, it was thought, to handle their own affairs. Today, most of us profess to hold a more enlightened view of the causes and nature of the problems social services are designed to ameliorate, and it is a very fundamental failure of our social service system if the people the system is there to serve still feel there is indignity attached to receiving services. If this is to be translated into practice, there will have to be concerted efforts throughout the whole system to ensure that no one who requests assistance must demean himself in any way to obtain it.

Supply is particularly a problem in the case of day care services. While there are a total of 88 day care facilities in the province, almost 90 percent of these are located in Winnipeg. Furthermore, about 85 percent of the facilities are operated by private entrepreneurs for profit, and thus the cost of day care in many of these centres is prohibitive for many families, especially those with low incomes. However, the province does pay part or all of the cost of day care in approved facilities for families which need the service but cannot afford it. This subsidy cost the province about $278,000 in the fiscal year 1972-73.* In addition, the province contributed about $115,000 (in the fiscal year 1972-73) to the Family Bureau of Greater Winnipeg for family day care provided to about 160 families. Unfortunately, this service is confined to Winnipeg residents only. "After four" and lunch hour day care services are also presently available, but only on a very limited basis and again, only in Winnipeg. Clearly, there are not enough services to meet present or potential demand, and many of the centres which do exist are to inflexible in terms of the services they provide. For example, they may only look after children on a half day basis when both parents are working full-time and need a full day's care for their children.

The Manitoba Government should take an aggressive role in ensuring that good day care facilities are available to all, regardless of income and geographical location. Financial assistance and program guidance should be provided to community groups who have demonstrated the desire and the competence to establish and operate day care services with a good educational component. Parents should be encouraged to form co-opera-

*This figure does not include day care services paid by the government for social allowance recipients.

tives to provide day care services. In some communities, the public will be obliged to assume an entreprenurial role in establishing day care services. Because this area of social services is in a relatively early stage of development, the government should continue to undertake research and to establish innovative programs in order to determine the most appropriate system to meet day care service needs.

CORRECTIONS

Corrections is an area of provincial government activity where progress has been relatively minimal until recently. Recognizing this situation, the provincial government initiated an intensive process of review and evaluation of the provincial correctional system* in 1970. The conclusions of this study were presented to Manitobans in a document released July, 1972 entitled *The Rise of the Sparrow: A Paper on Corrections in Manitoba.* The following paragraphs outline the basic approach to corrections which was advanced in more detail in the *Paper on Corrections,* and which could form the basis upon which reform in the provincial correctional system will proceed in the next few years. It should be noted, however, that many of the programs or services described already are part of our correctional system, although some are only in embryonic form.

During the seventies, our correctional programs should be revamped to reflect a more enlightened understanding of the factors which contribute to criminal behaviour and of the purposes the correctional system should serve. The correctional system must, of course, continue to serve to protect society as a whole from the actions of the aberrant minority, but it must also be directed towards optimizing the opportunities for the individual offender to become positively integrated into our social system. The latter objective, of course, serves the first as rehabilitation of the offender protects society from the consequences of continued criminal behaviour.

This objective cannot be achieved in isolation from other government and non-governmental efforts to enhance the quality of life of all Manitobans, primarily because the causes of criminal behaviour are multiple and complex, and moreover, are rooted very fundamentally in the vagaries of our social and economic system. It is no accident that convicted persons tend to come from the lowest socio-economic strata of our society, or, indeed, that a disproportionate percentage of offenders are members of our Indian and Metis community, undoubtedly the most socially and economically deprived segment of our society. Law-breaking is a social and human problem which is fundamentally related to social conditions in general. The correctional process in itself cannot hope to eradicate these basic problems, but, as one facet in the spectrum of interrelated public services designed to enhance the potential of human beings, it may achieve a great deal in terms of helping the individual offender to adjust to his particular situation, and thus, to re-enter society as a positively functioning member of his community.

If an individual's personal and social environment is the crucial determinant of criminal or anti-social behaviour, then it follows that the environment, both human and physical, in which the correctional process takes place is the crucial factor in reshaping the offender's behaviour into pro-social patterns. Normal or acceptable behaviour cannot be expected if the offender is treated as less than a human being. Self-respect is essential to rehabilitation, and thus only that loss of liberty and other civil rights which is necessary for the protection of the public should be imposed on the offender by the correctional system.

*All correctional institutions and programs are not the responsibility of the provincial government. Penitentiaries in the province, for instance, which are institutions primarily for offenders with sentences of two years or longer duration are under the jurisdiction of the federal government.

Moreover, as human beings differ widely with respect to their needs, experiences and personal characteristics, it is essential that the individuality and special needs of the offender be recognized in individualized and differential treatment. In short, the correctional environment must engender self-respect, must be geared towards individual needs, and must approximate as closely as possible a "normal" or "healthy" environment. At the very least, it must ensure that no further damage occurs to the offender as a result of the correctional process itself.

From this analysis of the basic approach which is needed for an effective correctional system, the Government of Manitoba has derived several key programming principles which can guide the development of correctional services in the seventies.

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS APPROACH

Reintegration of the offender into the family and the community can best be achieved by using the community as a base for correctional programs. Everything possible should be done to keep offenders in the community, as opposed to being institutionalized. Correctional programs in institutions, and new facilities to be developed, should be designed to permit more interaction between the offender and the community he will ultimately rejoin.

In keeping with this "community corrections" approach, one centralized correctional facility can be designated to serve as the "maximum security" unit for the correctional system, the main assessment facility and accommodation for offenders requiring some degree of close institutional supervision and specialized programming. Reaching out from this primary facility can be a system of community-based facilities with progressively less intensive levels of security and decreasing size. In the larger urban centres multi-purpose facilities with sufficient flexibility to handle detainees, a few offenders requiring restrictive control, and sentenced adults requiring varying degrees of institutional supervision will be built. Below this level, a number of small "open" facilities would be established in communities where there appears to be a need for such a facility. Functioning primarily as "residences", these facilities would be useful for accommodation of offenders who are sentenced to an institution but whose rehabilitation requires close liaison with the community; for persons, including juveniles, who are under probation supervision and require community accommodation during periods of crisis or on a regular basis; for parolled offenders, and even possibly for detained persons and those receiving after-care assistance. Day parole programs may use these units as accommodation for residents working in or studying in the community. For some offenders who have been in higher-level facilities for program or control reasons, these residences may act as a transitional stage as they become integrated into the community. Another possible utilization is as "attendance centres" where probationers periodically return for program input of some nature.

These open facilities can take a number of different forms depending upon available resources and the needs of the offenders to be served, *e.g.* hostels, group homes, foster homes, "report centres" and half-way houses.

Alterations to the physical environment of the offender should be complemented by similar changes in the "human" environment. This is especially important in the case of the institutionalized offender who has become physically removed from his family, his friends, and his community. Concerted efforts should be made, and support services supplied if necessary, to facilitate and maintain social contacts between the inmate and his family, friends, or legal counsel. Greater access to forensic mental services

should be provided to offenders to assist them in coping with their particular personal problems. The establishment of "Residents' Advisory Committees" to assist in certain areas of decision-making can be encouraged. The participation of offenders in these communities should help to make the institution more responsive to the needs of the inmate population, as well as contributing to the inmates' sense of efficacy and self-respect. Work activity programming within institutions should be directed towards building or enhancing skills in preparation for the offender's re-entry into the community. To the greatest extent possible, offenders should be encouraged and assisted to take advantage of educational programs offered outside the correctional institution.

INDIVIDUALIZED TREATMENT

Because the behavioural problems of offenders are varied and complex, treatment processes and techniques should be tailored to individual needs. From the moment a person is detained on a charge, there must be flexibility in the judicial-correctional process to allow for differential treatment on the basis of the persons' age and particular circumstances, and the nature of the alleged offence. For this reason, the government should institute a considerable degree of discretionary authority during both the police and corrections intake processes and the judicial process so that an individual may be directed out of the system when neither the individual nor society will be benefitted by further involvement. Facility development and planning in the future can be directed towards ensuring that there are separate facilities or differentiation within facilities to accommodate persons who are awaiting court appearance, for persons who are awaiting adjudication and/or disposition following a court appearance, and for persons who have been sentenced.*

A range of facilities and programs should be developed to ensure that offenders receive the kind of treatment which is best suited to their individual needs. As well, all offenders can be appropriately classified for the purposes of differential treatment planning.

Differentiated facilities and treatment should be made available for special groups of offenders such as those with problems of alcoholism and other forms of drug abuse, and especially for juvenile offenders.

Special services designed to assist offenders where a social, cultural, or language barrier exists between the offender and the judicial-correctional system should be expanded. This is particularly important in the case of Indian and Metis offenders. "Court communicator" services should be increased, and concerted efforts can be made to attract ex-offenders, particularly those of Indian and Metis ancestry, into positions within the correctional service.

In general, the correctional service must be altered to meet the demands of a reformed correctional system. As an integral component of the correctional process, the correctional worker must be able to fulfill much more than simply a custodial or security function. Staff development and training programs, therefore, must be reoriented to equip the correctional worker to perform his new role.

CO-ORDINATION

Rehabilitative efforts require co-ordination of all elements of the system, from apprehension to after-care, without artificial barriers as to age, location, type of program and so on. All correctional services must be viewed as components of one integrated continuum of services. This would require close liaison between all agencies involved in aspects of the judicial-correctional process.

*At present, for example, persons on remand must share facilities with convicted offenders. This is very destructive to treatment programs.

THE AGED

In general, the elderly require the same basic essentials to a decent standard of living as any other age group – adequate shelter, nutrition, clothing, and so on. But because of nature, social norms, and the economic structure of modern society, the aged have special needs which must be met if they are to be able to enjoy a reasonable degree of personal well-being.

The process of aging itself, as well as the mental and physical illness to which this makes the elderly more vulnerable, reduce the elderly person's ability to lead an economically productive life or even to cope with the day-to-day demands of living. The economic structure dictates that when a person is no longer able to sustain a certain level of productivity in the work place his participation must cease, whether he wishes to continue working or not. Generally, people must retire at the age of 65, an arbitrary age limit which does not necessarily reflect the person's ability to continue working. At the same time, most older people welcome retirement and the leisure it affords as a well-deserved reward. Unfortunately, retirement usually means a substantially reduced level of income on which to support oneself. In addition, unforeseen costs, for example, as a result of poor health or rising costs of living, may quickly deplete savings or severely stretch a pension income that might be adequate in normal circumstances.

For many of our older people, either of these two related factors – declining physical and mental ability and insufficient financial resources – or a combination of both, usually means they become increasingly dependent on others for support. In the past many older people in this situation could rely on their families for this support. Today, with the decline of the extended family, this support in many cases is no longer forthcoming. But even if the family is there and is willing to help, it may not have the ability or financial resources to provide adequately for the needs of its elderly members.

Society, through charitable organizations or through government, has increasingly taken upon itself the responsibility to provide assistance to elderly persons in need where these persons or their families cannot meet the needs themselves. However, there has been greater reluctance to accept the more fundamental premise that the aged have a *right* to a decent standard of living, and its corollary, that society has a responsibility to provide for the special needs of the elderly, as well as the basic needs they have in common with other age groups. Implicit in this philosophy is a rejection of the notion that the aged are the supernumeraries of the system, the left-overs who must be provided for if our consciences are to be at ease. Viewing the elderly as dependents on society is a self-fulfilling prophecy. They *will* become more and more dependent simply because their sense of self-efficacy and self-importance is threatened by such an attitude. Rather, like past societies who were much wiser than we are in this respect at least, we must provide for our elderly in the recognition that they have contributed much to society in their earlier years, and have still much to contribute in their old age. If circumstance forces them to become dependent upon society for certain essentials, society must provide for them in a manner which will preserve their integrity as individual human beings and in recognition that the well-being of society as a whole depends ultimately on the well-being of its older members.

The Manitoba Government should attempt to translate this philosophy into practice in the 1970's. The goal should be to provide those services and supports which will assist the elderly person to function as independently as possible within his own community. A comprehensive range of services and programs delivered in a

co-ordinated manner on a community basis would be required to achieve this goal.

The primary policy thrust should be services designed to assist the aged to remain in their own homes. Today, many elderly persons are prematurely forced into nursing homes or other residential facilities when they could remain in their own homes if certain kinds of services were available to them. Home care services, such as those presently provided by public health nurses and the Victorian Order of Nurses, can provide a sufficient amount of health care for many elderly persons' needs and, as well, arrest or retard deterioration. Many elderly persons do not even require this level of care: regular visits from a health aid who will assist in bathing or planning nutritious and economical meals, for example, may suffice.

Many elderly people, who are otherwise quite capable of looking after themselves, may need assistance in shopping, housecleaning, or meal preparation. Periodic or regular visits of a homemaker can provide this assistance. Home meal delivery, "meals on wheels", will ensure that the elderly person obtains at least one nutritious meal a day. Homemaker services are presently available primarily in conjunction with home care services, but the service is almost totally restricted to Winnipeg. While the province presently subsidizes most of these programs to varying degrees, more support and public initiative is required in this area.

If the elderly person owns his own home, services should be available to help him to keep it in good repair. The Pensioners' Housing Program, implemented last year under the government's Provincial Employment Program, is an example of this kind of assistance. Needed home repairs are provided to elderly people who have not the ability, economic or otherwise, to do the repairs themselves. If the person is living in rented premises, he should be given all the assistance he needs to ensure that the owners fulfill their obligations to him in keeping the house or apartment in good shape.

Isolation and loneliness is a problem for most elderly people whether physically fit or not. Their friends and family may be no longer alive or living far away. Cut off from the normal social contacts a job or family provides, it is very difficult for the elderly person living alone to maintain or develop the human friendship he needs. "Friendly visitors", who demonstrate some concern and interest in the elderly person's welfare, help to fill this gap. Good day centres, providing social and recreational activities, can help the elderly person to develop new friendships, and to pursue projects or hobbies, which will give him a renewed interest in life. Sheltered workshops can engage the elderly person in meaningful work activity, and also provide additional income.

Of course, there is little merit in programs and services designed to assist people to remain at home (as opposed to being institutionalized) if the only shelter available to them is of sub-standard quality, is too expensive, or is poorly designed to meet their special needs. Since most elderly people must subsist on fixed or low incomes, they should not be forced to make the choice between allocating a disproportionate amount of their income to shelter in order to obtain adequate housing, and spending less for sub-standard housing in order to have enough money for other essentials. Good low-cost housing should be available to all elderly people in need of it, and it should be designed to meet their special needs. It should be provided, to the extent that this is economically feasible, within the community the elderly person has chosen to reside, and it should be close to centres of activity in the community so that the elderly person is close to shops, churches, theatres, and so on. Housing for the elderly should not be built in such a way that it will segregate or ostracize them from the rest of the community. Small

clusters of elderly persons' housing units situated within housing for the broader community, are preferable to large housing developments exclusively for the elderly.

Since 1969, this government has taken an aggressive role in the provision of low cost elderly persons' housing through the Elderly and Infirm Persons Housing Program of the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation. As of July, 1972, approximately 2,600 elderly persons housing units, including accommodation for both single and married people, had been completed by M.H.R.C. and were occupied by tenants. Approximately 53 percent of these were built in Winnipeg and 47 percent in the rest of the province. During the period 1946 to 1971, about the same number of units had been constructed by charitable organizations and private entrepreneurs with the help of loans from the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation under the National Housing Act.* The province's program, however, is an important departure from these previous efforts in that it emphasizes the provision of housing for low income people. To ensure that those elderly persons who most need low cost housing are served by this program, only those with an income below a certain maximum income are accepted into the units. Furthermore, rent is set on an ability to pay basis, and can be as low as $32 per month.

This government should continue its efforts to increase the supply of low cost elderly persons' housing, particularly in communities outside Winnipeg. The construction of these units in any part of the province should be geared to assimilating them within the broader community.

For the elderly whose state of mental or physical health no longer permit them to remain in their own homes even with the kinds of assistance we have described above, a range of facilities providing different levels of care should be available to accommodate them, and, to the extent that scarce resources permit, these facilities should be located in their home communities. Hostels should be available to provide long-term supervisory care as well as short-term residential care especially for rural residents who may have to leave their homes in order to receive specialized medical attention from facilities located in Winnipeg. Personal care homes, or "nursing homes" as they are variously described, should be available to provide regular nursing and personal care on a long-term basis. All of these facilities should have good recreational programs and specialized therapy designed to keep the residents as interested and active as possible.

There are over 6,000 hostel or personal care home beds in Manitoba at the present time. The province is reviewing the regulations governing these institutions with a view to ensuring good quality care, and recognizing that "good quality care" includes amenities such as a stimulating environment. In addition, the province has a study underway to determine the need for such facilities in order that facilities can be placed where they are most necessary. The government will introduce a program to extend public insurance coverage to all levels of institutional care, including nursing home care, in the 1973 legislative session.

At the same time, this government recognizes that unplanned development of services for the aged has allowed a build-up of institutional facilities for elderly people to the detriment of other forms of care — such as home care — which assist the aged person to remain more happily within his family or community.

The provision of those kinds of support services designed to keep the aged in their own homes, such as visiting nurses, meals delivery and day centres, has largely been left to community organizations, although government has usually supplied financial

*C.M.H.C., *Canadian Housing Statistics*, 1971.

and program assistance for the development and operation of these services. Those communities which, for economic and other reasons, are better able to organize themselves and mobilize resources, are consequently more likely to have such services. As a result, there is a concentration of these services in Winnipeg when about half the aged who require them live outside our major urban centre. This sporadic development of services has meant not only that people outside of Winnipeg do not have the same access to services as Winnipeggers, but also that the pattern of service delivery for everyone is fragmented.

The development of a decentralized and comprehensive health and social service delivery system which has been discussed previously in this chapter is the requisite to providing comprehensive and accessible services for the elderly. More emphasis will have to be placed on the provision of home and community services, especially in those communities where the economic and population base does not exist for the practical development of care facilities. To serve the needs of the aged in remote communities, mobile services – such as mobile health clinics and mobile home aid units – can be developed.

The poor economic position of the large majority of our elderly people is a matter of grave concern to this government. Ensuring the provision of more adequate and accessible services for the elderly can go a long way in terms of supplementing their real income, but other, more direct kinds of income support are necessary. Increased old age pensions are obviously a first priority, but as they are a federal responsibility, the province can only continue to urge the federal government to take action in this area. On the other hand, the province can put more disposable income into the hands of its elderly through certain programs. The provision of more low cost, elderly persons housing, the Manitoba Education Property Tax Credit Plan and the continuation of the Pensioners Housing Program will free up more of the aged person's income for expenditures on other necessities such as food. The costs of institutionalization in personal care homes and hostels presently constitutes a severe drain on the income of persons who are obliged because of failing health to leave their homes and families. The costs of nursing home or hostel care can quickly deplete hard-earned savings or exhaust the total of a fixed income. Because of this many elderly persons become "welfare" cases, dependent on the social allowance plan to provide for them. This government believes that no one should be forced to become economically dependent in this way, because of the costs of essential health care. Therefore, a top priority of this government has been to bring these services under the umbrella of some publicly financed scheme such as Medicare. Such a plan, as noted above, will be introduced in the 1973 legislative session.

In addition, two other programs which will give more disposable income to the elderly will come into effect in 1973. The government will eliminate medical and hospital insurance premiums for all Manitobans and will subsidize the costs of prescription drugs for pensioners.

FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL COST-SHARING ARRANGEMENTS

The attainment of an integrated and comprehensive health and social services system in the seventies depends to a great degree on the federal government because of the complex way in which health and social services are financed in Canada. While the provinces have the ultimate constitutional responsibility for health and social services, they do not have commensurate ability to raise the necessary revenue to finance these services. As a result, the federal government has agreed

to share the costs of certain major programs in this area. Under the Medical Care Act, the Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act, and the Canada Assistance Plan, the federal government contributes varying amounts of money to the provinces to help finance certain health and social services.

Unfortunately, rigidities in the federal-provincial cost-sharing agreements have imposed constraints upon provincial initiatives to reform their health and social service systems. For example, nursing home care is presently not cost-shareable as an insured health service. Provinces can only obtain cost-sharing for nursing home care for financially indigent patients under the Canada Assistance Plan. This lack of flexibility in the financial arrangements imposes serious barriers to provincial efforts to ensure the availability of a comprehensive range of services to its residents. Manitoba will continue to press the federal government to agree to more flexible and equitable cost-sharing arrangements, in particular with a view to incorporating all essential health services under cost-shareable universal public programs.

Chapter 10
Housing

Housing

All sectors of the community have an interest in ensuring that adequate housing in a decent residential environment is provided for all its members. A primary objective of *Guidelines* is the provision of adequate housing for all Manitobans by 1980. The four principles which underlie all of *Guidelines* are critical to housing policies and programs for the next decade. Indeed, the basic objective of the chapter – the provision of adequate housing for all Manitobans – coincides with all four principles.

(a) Maximization of the general well-being of Manitobans:

Housing policy will be directed to ensure that Manitobans can afford satisfactory housing, i.e. housing that meets their needs. The intention is to ensure that housing as a major user of income does not prevent adequate spending on other necessary goods. Maximization of well-being also means that people should have real choice in the marketplace. In a general sense, all this means more housing units as well as more diversity in types of units. But given certain historical patterns of settlement and development, application of this principle will have a varying impact. For example, in Winnipeg there is a much greater diversity of stock type than in rural areas or northern Manitoba where the predominant stock type has been and remains the single-detached dwelling unit.

(b) Greater equality of the human condition:

Housing policy will be directed to ensure that all Manitobans live in housing that meets at least reasonable standards. The aim is to eliminate substandard housing and this may be defined in terms of shelter costs, overcrowding, and poor building conditions. People who live on lower incomes should no longer have to pay rents out of proportion to their total income, nor should they be forced to live in housing that is infested with vermin, has poor light and ventilation, lacks proper heating and plumbing, and has leaky roofing and cracked walls. Nor should they be forced to crowd five people into one bedroom or to share a bathroom with other families. For the province as a whole this means programs designed to eliminate inadequate housing, while regionally the emphasis may be placed on specific types of shortages or inadequacies.

(c) The stay option:

Housing policy will be directed to ensure that no matter where people live they can obtain satisfactory housing – they will not be forced to go elsewhere to find decent housing in which to live. People must not be forced to live in less than adequate housing just because they live in a remote community or in a community where population growth has

been stabilized for some time. Where sound residential communities now exist, residents should have reasonable assurance that planning will be of the type that will prevent unnecessary deterioration of neighborhoods.

(d) Widening participation:

Housing policy will be directed to encourage and create opportunities for local residents to take part in decisions affecting their community and housing developments. Local needs are often best perceived at the local level, and are often dealt with more efficiently from an administrative viewpoint locally. It is anticipated that if effective participation is desirable, some decentralization of housing programs will occur. Participation can be encouraged on several levels – it can be as small as the actual housing development or can range from the administration of a repair and renovation program to the calling of tenders, the receiving and processing of applications, to the articulation of needs or to the delivery of new units.

ADEQUATE HOUSING

Housing is a social good, i.e. it is provided at both public and private cost. If, in some cases, the unit itself was constructed by a private firm, it is possible it was financed by public funds or that the servicing and amenities in the neighborhood were publicly provided. But not all Manitobans live in adequate housing: housing that is in good condition (that is safe and healthy), that is within their income range (not disproportionate), that is large enough or small enough to meet their particular physical requirements, that suit their life style, that is not a forced choice (thus a diversity by type, cost and location of unit).

Housing is not just shelter or some utilitarian abstraction. It has many and varied aspects, including site, location, price, design, size and equipment. The possible combinations are great, but so often they are lacking. Site – shape and size, vegetation, topography, and orientation – affects the potential use and design of both indoor and outdoor space. Location or residential environment – proximity to community services and amenities (including transportation, schools and parks), the degree of homogenity (income, housing type, ethnicity, occupational type), the amount of interference (intolerable noise, traffic and smells, lack of buffers) – either contributes to or detracts from the development of the individual. Price – the proportion of total income required to buy shelter, the distribution of housing types by costs, the effect of increasing interest, land and construction costs – can inhibit the effective availability of stock in the marketplace. Design – the interior organization of space for sleeping, eating, playing, working, entertaining, for access to light and air and the exterior organization of space for both passive and active outdoor activity – influences the comfort of the family and individual. Size – including the number of rooms – reflects the adequacy of the unit for both private and gregarious activities. Equipment – the condition and extent of plumbing, storage space, insulation, heating, wiring, foundations, roofs – contributes to the efficient and satisfactory use of the unit.

But most important, it must be recognized that housing stock in a physical and economic sense must match the needs of the community. And people's housing needs change at different stages of their lives. Intrinsically, needs derive from the family cycle and the composition of that family, from particular economic circumstances, from aspirations, upbringing, work and cultural and ethnic background.

A lifetime thus demands a diveristy of housing types sufficient to satisfy all the housing needs of different groups in the

community. In childhood and adolescence, life centres on the parent's home. It is at this stage that demand for space is often greatest – the house must accommodate the pursuits and activities of several age groups. Space is needed for both active play and quieter work – for hobbies, for storage, for sleeping and entertaining. But it is also at this time that household income is smallest in relation to the demands placed upon it, to provide the basic necessities such as shelter, food and clothing.

In the next stage, that of emerging independence, a person may leave home whether it be to seek education or work or some other reason. At this stage, mobility is probably of paramount importance and possessions are few. And for these reasons a person may deliberately choose to live in a dormitory, or an apartment or a hostel. Personal internal space may not be as important a consideration as access to parks, cinemas, bus services, museums and shops. While some people never leave this group, the largest majority of people move into the next stage – that of family formation.

Often early married life means living in rental accommodation – apartments, townhouses, low income housing or maisonettes – as few can afford to purchase property immediately. Usually at this stage, since both husband and wife may be working, it is desirable and essential to have adequate domestic space, privacy and easily maintained facilities. Also important is access to the centre of action in the community, proximity to where things are happening. This stage is critical in forming the values and satisfactions that condition how the new family will live for the rest of their lives.

In time, the family matures and as the child rearing phase begins, an attached or detached single house preferably at ground level becomes important. The desire for home ownership tends to emerge most strongly and it is toward this major investment for family life that public and private housing policy has been directed. It is the time when the home is a place for learning and personal development, the formative years are spent here. It is a phase when domesticity is paramount and when the need for stability and security emerge very strongly. As the children grow and eventually leave (to restart the cycle) only to return for holidays or special occasions, the use of the house changes. In some respects it resembles a hotel, not fully occupied except at particular times.

With age, maintaining a large house or property becomes a financial and physical burden. It becomes more difficult to clear snow, to mow the lawn, to paint, to do repairs, to drive a car, to climb stairs and the decision may be taken to move to a small apartment located near both community facilities and friends and relatives.

Certainly the objective of providing adequate accommodation is a desirable one. But is it a practical one? In order to derive sensitive and responsive housing policies for the next decade, we must understand people's needs and be prepared to take action where necessary to meet them. We must know what resources are required and what commitments are necessary to ensure the realization of our objective. *Guidelines* involves analysis of the major problems that have to be overcome in order to realize the objective, but it also involves a selection of feasible alternatives to achieve that objective.

PROBLEMS

Occupied housing stock is dynamic in the sense that there are both *additions* (new construction and conversions) and *subtractions* (demolitions, abandonments and vacancies). Variations affecting the propensity to form independent households can result from changing demographic characteristics (for example, changes in

the rate of family formation) and from changing economic conditions (for example, the degree of unemployment, income level, interest rates, housing costs and availability). Housing problems arise when supply fails to meet demand. Supply can be expressed (and has been in this chapter) as the amount of stock in the marketplace, occupied, vacant or for sale. The extent of supply can vary depending on the type and cost of units and the nature of lending and construction activity. Demand can be expressed (and has been in this chapter) as the needs of people who require adequate shelter. The degree of demand can vary depending on the relationship between costs and income, the amount of overcrowding, and the condition of dwelling units. Neither supply nor demand are independent of one another. In fact, what people need and desire often reflects what is technically possible to provide and what is available.

Many of the trends apparent nationally concur with what has happened in Manitoba. In the last decade there has been an increasing emphasis on the construction of multiple and higher density units as opposed to the more traditional single detached unit. In 1971*, 72 percent of the housing stock in Manitoba were single detached units, (down 5 percent since 1966) as compared to 60 percent in Canada as a whole (down 2 percent since 1966). Between 1966 and 1971, 48.2 percent of all new housing starts in Manitoba and 47.6 percent of starts in Canada, were apartment units. Between 1961 and 1971, total costs for bungalows rose in Winnipeg by 41 percent and in Canada by 63 percent; land costs rose by 70 and 132 percent respectively. With respect to the condition of housing stock in the province in 1966, 5 percent of urban stock and 12.3 percent of rural stock required major repair as compared to only 3.4 and 9.4 percent in all of Canada. The number of dwelling units with hot and cold running water, flush toilets and baths or showers is about 4 to 8 percent lower in Manitoba than in the rest of the country. The number of overcrowded dwelling units in Manitoba is comparable to that in Canada as a whole – in excess of 9 percent. Even though it is apparent that certain conditions in Manitoba have not been worse than conditions nationally, there are serious implications in the trends that have emerged. It is also apparent that certain conditions in Manitoba have been worse and have not been rectified significantly.

AVAILABILITY OF STOCK – NUMBER AND KINDS OF UNITS:

In the last decade housing stock in Manitoba increased from 239,754 units in 1961 to 259,280 units in 1966 to 288,375 units in 1971.** The rate of increase was fastest from 1966 to 1971 when approximately 4,000 units were constructed over and above new population growth. This has meant in effect, a decline in the average number of persons per dwelling unit from 3.7 to 3.4 and in real terms a reduction in the amount of overcrowding. The increase in new construction is most notable in Winnipeg where approximately 71 percent of all new starts were located reflecting in part rural population decline and a slackening in demand in this region of the province.

But as new units have been added, the nature of the unit type has changed. While on the one hand this means an increasing diversity of type and therefore some increase in choice, on the other hand it reflects increasing land and construction costs which in effect decrease and limit choice (that is the traditional choice of single detached dwelling units becomes a more remote possibility). Of

*The following statistics were compiled and computed from the *Canada Census* 1961, 1966, and 1971, and *Canadian Housing Statistics*, CMHC 1961-1971.

**_Canada Census_ 1961, 1966, 1971.

new construction* between 1966 and 1971, approximately 61 percent was in multiple accommodation (e.g. apartments, row housing, town housing and duplexes) and only 39 percent was in single detached. In Winnipeg this trend towards higher density structures has been even more pronounced as 71 percent of new units were in multiple accommodation and of these more than 50 percent were apartments. Even in smaller urban centres this trend is apparent. A decade ago only about one-third of new starts were multiple in Manitoba. Indeed, 79 percent of stock in the province was single detached in 1961 (93 percent in rural Manitoba and 72 percent in urban Manitoba.) By 1971, only 72 percent was. The tenure pattern also indicates a change in the type and cost of available housing: in 1961, 73.5 percent of all units were owned by the occupant, as compared to 70.1 percent in 1966 and 66.1 percent in 1971.**

HOUSING COSTS AND INCOME

There is an upper limit to the amount and proportion of family income that can be spent on adequate accommodation. If the proportion is high, expenditures on other essential goods, e.g. clothing, food and medical services, will suffer. A survey of family incomes in Manitoba, undertaken in 1969 by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, indicated: that 40 percent of all families in the province earned less than $5,000 per year; that 31 percent of all families earned between $5,000 and $9,000; that only 29 percent of all families earned more than $9,000. Using 27 percent of family income (under National Housing Act regulations this has been the standard used) as the guideline for calculating the upward proportion of income that should be spent on accommodation, it can be seen that 40 percent of all families can afford only $1,350 rent annually and 31 percent can afford only between $1,350 and $2,430 rent annually. Given the income distribution of Manitobans, most cannot afford new housing and many cannot afford existing housing. A simple illustration shows the discrepancy between income and housing costs:

COST OF NEW HOUSING FINANCED UNDER N.H.A. IN WINNIPEG IN 1969

Average Cost: $21,590

Average Interest: 9.318 percent

Average Monthly Taxes: $39.47

Amortized over 25 years, annual payments amount to $2,673.72.

Moreover, analysis of incomes of public housing applicants shows that 44 percent can afford only rents under $90 per month including heat and water and 25 percent can afford only rents of $90 to $120 per month including heat and water. For elderly persons in particular, high rent is often a major source of problems in budgeting, sometimes using up half or more of income. Being thus unable to afford other necessities of life, such as medicine and an adequate diet, the elderly person in this situation often subsists on a "tea and toast" diet. Malnutrition, senility and early death are all-too-often the results.

Housing costs can be looked at in terms of land costs, structure costs and interest charges. Any absolute increase in total cost results in a significant diminution in the number of households that can afford a previous possible level of accommodation. This is exactly what has happened over the last decade and particularly the latter part of this decade. In 1961, the average total cost of a new bungalow in Winnipeg was $15,332; by 1971 the cost had risen to $21,672 (in 10 years a 41 percent increase). As a component, land costs increased from $2,686 to $4,573 or from 17.5 percent to 21.1 percent (in 10 years a 70 percent increase). As a component, construction costs rose from $10.57

*_Canadian Housing Statistics_, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1966-1971.

**_Canada Census_, 1961, 1966, and 1971.

a square foot to $15.79 a square foot or by 49 percent in 10 years. For existing housing financed under N.H.A., the average cost in 1967 in Winnipeg was $10,867 per unit, by 1971 it was $15,524 (a 42.9 percent increase).* Similarly, the interest rate exacerbated the situation: rates fluctuated from a low of 6.25 percent in 1964 and 1965 to a high of 10.06 percent in 1970 (for the last decade an average of 7.57 percent or since 1967 an average of 8.92 percent).

The effect of these several dramatic increases is illustrated by the changes in incomes of borrowers under N.H.A.

LENDING ACTIVITY

The extent to which money is readily obtainable, for financing both the construction of new housing and the acquisition of both new and existing housing, directly affects the overall availability of housing stock in the market. Manitoba's population in the last decade represented approximately 5 percent of the national total; housing stock represented approximately 5 percent; and housing starts represented approximately 4.5 percent. But in only one year since 1961 has the number of mortgages,* both conventional and N.H.A., extended by lending institutions for new housing equalled or exceeded 5 percent. At no time in the last decade has the number of mortgages, both conventional and N.H.A., for existing housing been correctly proportional, in fact the average was only 3.5 percent and between 1966 and 1969 it dropped to 2.6 percent. Indeed from 1961 to 1969, lending institutions increasingly favoured financing new housing over existing housing.

The type of housing financed through N.H.A. from 1962 to 1971 under went a dramatic shift. In 1962 most (79 percent) N.H.A. mortgages in Manitoba were extended for single detached units, only 37 percent were for single detached units by 1971. Similarly, direct C.M.H.C. lending under went a change in emphasis. In 1966, 75.6 percent of all loans financed single detached units in the province as compared to only 8.3 percent in 1971.

*_Canadian Housing Statistics_, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1961-1971.

TABLE 10-2

PROPORTION OF MORTGAGES FINANCED BY LENDING INSTITUTIONS FOR NEW AND EXISTING HOUSING IN MANITOBA
(percentages)

Year	Existing	New
1961	45.7	54.3
1966	46.7	53.3
1967	41.3	58.7
1968	23.6	76.4
1969	18.4	81.6
1970	28.3	71.7
1971	33.8	66.2

Source: C.M.H.C., Prairie Regional Office

TABLE 10-1

BORROWERS INCOME FOR NEW HOUSING FINANCED UNDER THE N.H.A. BY INCOME CLASS FOR WINNIPEG 1966-1971 SHOWN AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL BORROWERS

Year	Over $5,000	Over $7,000	Over $9,000	Average Income
1966	89.3	37.8	16.8	$6,949
1967	97.1	54.8	24.6	$7,849
1968	98.8	66.7	43.2	$8,473
1969	–	82.1	41.8	$9,146
1970	–	98.4	82.3	$12,142) Family
1971	–	–	82.4	$11,890) Income

N.B. Income for 1970 and 1971 is shown as family income.
Source: Canadian Housing Statistics, C.M.H.C., 1966-1971.

In Winnipeg in 1963, most (89.9 percent) N.H.A. financing was directed towards single detached housing, by 1971 it had dropped to 25.7 percent. Apartment starts financed under N.H.A. were up in this period from 5.1 percent to 52.3 percent. In 1963 most non-N.H.A. financing in Winnipeg was concentrated in the apartment sector, a tendency which has continued. What this has meant for the individual in the housing market is a decreasing opportunity to acquire single detached housing, both existing and new, through lending agencies. Moreover, given the fact that mortgage financing increasingly stressed and favoured apartment construction, and that most of this construction in the last decade was located in Winnipeg, other parts of Manitoba have been even more badly served by federally approved lenders.

VACANCY RATES

A vacancy rate of 5 percent is generally regarded as necessary to ensure a range of choice in the housing market (in type of unit, location, and cost). Without it, there is little redistribution of the stock and consumers are locked into rent structures and inadequate units that ill-suit their needs. From 1963 to 1971 the average vacancy rate for privately initiated apartment units in Winnipeg was 3.4 percent. Only in 1964 and in December 1971 did it reach 5 percent and, in fact, from 1967 to 1969 it was only 1.5 percent. A survey conducted by C.M.H.C. in December 1971 showed conclusively that vacancy rates were high only in high-rise luxury apartments and highest in units most recently constructed: while apartments with 100 to 199 units had a vacancy rate of 8.3 percent, apartments with fewer than a 100 units had a vacancy rate of only 3.9 percent. Indeed, in downtown Winnipeg, if one or two luxury apartment blocks are eliminated from the survey, the vacancy rate in the area drops to less than 1 percent. In most modern apartment blocks the lowest rent for a one-bedroom suite requires a minimum annual expenditure of $1,620, for a two-bedroom suite $1,920 is required, and for a three-bedroom suite $2,220 is required. And, as the previous section on housing costs and income has shown, these prices are more than many can afford. But if little moderate and low income rental accommodation is available privately, even fewer single-detached dwelling units are available; in Winnipeg the vacancy rate for single detached houses has generally been less than 1 percent and in August 1971 only 8 percent of all new houses for sale in Winnipeg were priced within the reach of those in the income range of $6,500. The unavailability of sufficient suitable housing for one group of people usually leads to pressures on other types of accommodation and groups. Thus many groups – single working people, elderly people, university students, low and moderate income families – are competing for the same space or living in accommodation more expensive than what they can reasonably afford.

ADEQUACY OF STOCK: PHYSICAL CONDITION

The prospective life of housing stock (dependent in part on the actual physical condition of units) affects the availability of housing in the long run. At some point the combined effect of such factors as increasing age, climate and use will result in housing declining in quality from good condition to fair or even to poor unless adequate measures are taken to maintain the unit. In fact, one estimate of the annual rate of deterioration is .5 percent of total stock. In 1961, the Canada Census reported that 74,405 units in the province were in need of either major structural repair or replacement or minor repair. This represented 31 percent of the total stock but within the province the regional breakdowns varied.

Indications are that since 1961 conditions have got worse rather than better. Until recently most improvements were the sole

responsibility of the property's owner, few if any public programs were designed to meet this situation. For the last decade, housing stock in general has aged and, given conditions prevailing in 1961, this is serious.

The situation has been compounded in areas of the province where low incomes prevail. Where government intervention has been minimal (to the extent of not even enforcing building standards), the poor will generally live in the poorest housing. In a free market situation, the incomes of householders will approximately match the quality of their housing and this applies to both owners and renters. Maintenance costs can be high — as much as several thousand dollars to bring a unit in poor condition up to a reasonable standard, and this cost is either absorbed by the owner or in the case of rental accommodation, passed on to the tenant in the form of higher rents.

As of 1971 it has been estimated* that 32,000 units or in excess of 11 percent of total stock in the province, required major repair (e.g. plumbing, heating, additions, roofing, foundations, wiring and walls), and 78,300 units, or in excess of 27 percent, required minor repair (e.g. painting, doors and windows, plastering, sidewalks, and tiling). However, throughout the province conditions varied regionally.

OVERCROWDING

Overcrowding is detrimental to the comfort and independence of the individual within the household. The convenience of the unit depends on the relationship between such factors as its design, heating, exterior and internal space and the ages, numbers, and life styles of the household residents. The extent to which overcrowding is viewed as a problem reflects particular cultural tra-

*Including, the City of Winnipeg, the Manitoba Department of Agriculture, The Pensioner's Housing Program, several municipal urban renewal studies. Data from the recent census was unavailable.

TABLE 10-4

HOUSING STOCK BY AGE AND CONDITION 1961 FOR MANITOBA

Date of Construction	Percent in Need of Major Repair
Pre 1920	14.65
1920-1945	7.74
1946-1961	3.78

Source: *Canada Census*, 1961.

TABLE 10-3

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL STOCK REQUIRING REPAIR: 1961

	Minor Repair	Major Repair
Winnipeg	24,236 (18.9 percent)	6,421 (5.0 percent)
Other Urban Centres	7,068 (23.7 percent)	2,057 (6.9 percent)
Rest of Province	24,596 (30.2 percent)	10,027 (12.3 percent)
TOTAL	55,900 (23.3 percent)	18,507 (7.7 percent)

Source: *Canada Census*, 1961.

TABLE 10-5

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL STOCK REQUIRING REPAIR, 1971*

	Major Repair	Minor Repair
Winnipeg	9,300 (5.6 percent)	51,400 (31.2 percent)
Other Urban Centres	3,700 (8 percent)	11,700 (25 percent)
Rest of Province of Manitoba	19,000 (25 percent)	15,200 (20 percent)
TOTAL	32,000 (11.1 percent)	78,300 (27.2 percent)

*These figures are only estimates.

ditions, but in Canada it has generally been assumed that overcrowding exists where there are more people than rooms in a dwelling unit. No matter how it is viewed, overcrowded conditions are not adequate conditions.

In 1961 the Canada Census reported in excess of 40,000 overcrowded housing units in Manitoba. About 16,000 of these were in Winnipeg, 20,000 in rural Manitoba, and 4,000 in other urban centres in the province. Given an increase in the construction of new units for elderly persons and low-income families since 1968, some of this overcrowding has been relieved. Similarly overcrowding has been reduced in rural Manitoba where population decrease has been more rapid than housing stock decline.

In 1971, the Canada Census reported 26,610 units overcrowded in Manitoba – about 10,070 in Winnipeg and 16,540 units in the rest of the province.

It is possible in one respect that overcrowding might exist statistically but not effectively: for example, families (even those able to afford single detached units) may have more than one child per bedroom and not view themselves as living in sub-standard conditions. In the last decade the actual size of dwelling units on the average has decreased. This applies to single detached units and applies particularly in view of the tremendous increase in construction of apartment units.

WINNIPEG

Winnipeg, as the major urban centre in the province, has unique problems resulting from large-scale and long-time urbanization. In a city of its size there are a multitude of competing uses for land, some of which are not compatible with all other uses. Historically, the railways and their bi-product, industries, have criss-crossed the city, often dividing or interfering with the integrity of residential areas. In relatively recent times the city's road and street network has on the one hand created the possibility for new suburban development, but on the other hand proposed improvements have often threatened established neighbourhoods. Downtown developments, while regarded as necessary for the rejuvenation of the city's core, have often meant the destruction of existing businesses and housing stock. Urban renewal, of past vintage, has meant in many cases urban bulldozing.

But Winnipeg in one sense is better off than the rest of the province. In the last decade the city has received the bulk of new starts in the province (69 percent of the total) while its population accounts for only about 55 percent of the provincial sum. The city accounted for 85.6 percent of all apartment starts, 84.3 percent of all semi-detached and duplex starts, 67.4 percent of all row housing starts and 53.6 percent of all single detached starts.* While this has meant increasing diversity in housing type in the city, it indicates that elsewhere in the province real diversity in type is lacking, and thus there is less choice. But these figures tend to hide the real problems and the seriousness of the situation in Winnipeg. Although housing stock in the city increased from 143,710 units in 1966 to 166,480 units in 1971 and has resulted in a reduction in the average number of persons per dwelling unit from 3.5 to 3.2, housing problems have not been eliminated.

Over 50 percent of all new starts were apartments, while only 38 percent were single detached and 12 percent semi-detached, duplex and row housing. Increasingly the shift has been to smaller sized units, which if built in great enough numbers will help to relieve overcrowding, but will not totally eliminate the problem. Winnipeg needs diversity. About 25 percent of its population is under 15 years of age, about 45 percent under 25, about 40 percent between 25 and 60 and about 13 percent over 60

Canadian Housing Statistics, C.M.H.C., 1961-1971.

years of age.* The city also contains a real mixture of ethnic groups, occupations, and income levels. But in Winnipeg, there is still an excess of 10,000 overcrowded units and the overall vacancy rate in the existing stock is only in the order of 3 percent.

Winnipeg is a well-established city in the sense that many of its areas were settled well over 50 years ago (in 1961, 31 percent of stock predated 1920), but it also is a city that is still growing and changing. From 1961 to about 1967 or 1968, construction of new starts was primarily located in such areas as the inner city, St. James-Assiniboia, West and East Kildonan, and St. Boniface. By the latter half of the decade, (while the inner city continued to have a high proportion of starts reflecting in part the construction of high density high rise apartment blocks), St. Vital, Fort Garry and Charleswood emerged as major new areas for housing. In 1966 St. Vital accounted for only 4.3 percent of starts and Fort Garry for 9.9 percent. By 1970, they accounted for 15 percent and 14.3 percent respectively of new starts.**

The extension of the city spatially, particularly when most undeveloped land is held by a limited number of corporations, is costly both to individuals and to the public sector. In the last decade the average cost of land for construction of a single new bungalow has increased from $2,686 in 1961 to $4,573 in 1971. Over the 10 year period this is a 70 percent increase. To service a lot for a single detached unit costs a minimum of $55 a front foot and the average cost is $60 per frontage foot. In comparison, a serviced lot zoned for a single detached unit sells in the range from $85 to $115 a front foot. And servicing costs are the major component of land costs. Construction costs have increased likewise and since 1961 the average price of new single detached units has risen from about $15,000 to about $22,000 (a greater than 45 percent increase).*** Given the income range of borrowers for N.H.A. mortgages (in 1971, 82.4 percent had incomes over $9,000), most Winnipeggers cannot afford to buy new housing. While the high cost of new single detached units is a concern of public authorities – it certainly affects the nature and adequacy of housing that all people live in – it is not the total picture. Suburbs composed predominantly of single units at densities of four to an acre are wasteful of space, they force residential development further and further out and force prices to rise as land becomes a more and more scarce commodity. In terms of other planning considerations, for example proximity to publicly provided services and amenities, it becomes more difficult to locate schools, parks, community centres, libraries within walking distance of students and children. Public bus lines demand a certain level of use for efficient operation. Trunk sewers, both water and storm, have to be extended at great cost as do telephone and electricity lines. The suburb, to use one expression, becomes "sanitized" and as costs increase, they become even more "sanitized" as only certain income levels can afford to live in them.

New housing increases total stock and thereby helps to meet needs arising from population growth, either through natural increase or immigration, and needs arising from existing unsatisfactory conditions such as overcrowding or dilapidated, unsound older housing. However most people in Winnipeg live in dwelling units previously occupied and it is estimated**** that 37 percent of total existing stock in the city requires some repair (about 6 percent of it is major repair and 31 percent minor). Analysis of the Pensioners Housing Program shows that for Winnipeg the most critical repairs were for roofing, plumbing, heating and wiring and, amongst the more minor repair group, painting and mending of doors and windows were most common. But for houses

*Estimated from M.H.S.C., Population Tables, 1970.
**C.M.H.C., Prairie Regional Office.
***_Canadian Housing Statistics_, C.M.H.C., 1961-1971.
****Based on data from the City of Winnipeg.

over 30 years of age, of which there are many, structural and foundation repairs emerged as important as well. Lack of maintenance, while tolerable perhaps for a limited time, will in the end require either very high renovation costs or even demolition. The latter increases pressure for the construction of new housing and spirals costs unnecessarily, particularly in the public sector. However, many people who now live in existing units very often cannot afford the basic upkeep entailed in maintaining a house in good condition, and some people who live in rental accommodation lack the incentive for doing repairs. With rental accommodation it is not uncommon for landlords who have maintained units well, or who have completed needed repairs, to increase rents. The result in turn is that housing becomes more costly to rent and this is particularly true when stock is in short supply. And stock is in short supply as vacancy rates indicate. In a C.M.H.C. survey of privately initiated apartment structures of six units and over, vacancy rates for smaller apartment buildings in June in all parts of the city, in 1971, were 2.7 percent well below the point at which an effective filtering system will operate. Moreover, for larger family-sized 3 and 4-bedroom units, vacancy rates were low (in June 1971, 2.0 and 3.5 percent respectively).

The city is a place to enjoy a good life, but when it is a financial struggle to find adequate shelter, other facets of life cannot be partaken of fully. Where people live in inadequate housing or neighborhoods, both physical and emotional stress increase. The city is often a place where change occurs rapidly. Because shelter is so elementary and basic a need as well as a major personal investment in terms of money, time and labour, it is one area where major and potentially destructive changes should be avoided. The knowledge that there is some security in this investment is intrinsic to a stable and healthful existence. People should not suddenly find themselves confronted by forced relocation or the intrusion of incompatible land uses in residential areas. Housing exists in part for the fostering of wholesome human development; such development will not properly take place if conditions are less than adequate.

RURAL MANITOBA

Rural housing conditions have traditionally been lower in quality and standard than those prevailing in urban centres and particularly in city suburbs. Investment in the capital equipment necessary to maintain the family's livelihood was the major priority of the family farm and the farm house was considered to be of lesser importance. Without an efficient building industry in rural areas and with increasing building costs, farm housing was often self-constructed with poorer materials.

A survey undertaken last year by the Manitoba Department of Agriculture indicated that much of the housing stock in rural areas was old, (these results are more or less corroborated by the Pensioners Housing Program). Of the farms surveyed, approximately 23 percent of the housing was constructed prior to 1920, 35 percent prior to 1930 and 58 percent prior to 1945. Conditions in certain rural municipalities and Local Government Districts were even worse – 62 percent of stock in Archie was pre-1930 vintage, the figures for Morton and Lansdowne were 59 and 51 percent respectively. The same survey indicated that over 59 percent of all housing was in need of some form of repair within the next 10 years, about half of these houses were in need of immediate repair and within one year over 50 percent would require repair. The situation was most serious in Lansdowne, Rossburn, Park, Clanwilliam and Rosedale. According to findings from the same survey about 40 percent of all houses did not have running water and in Park, Mossey River, and Rossburn prevailing conditions were worse.

The physical condition of the farm house is partly dependent on the income of the farmer and the age of the house. Where the farmer's gross income was less than $10,000, more than 50 percent of the houses were in need of repair. Where the farmer's gross income was greater than $15,000, only about 40 percent of the houses needed repair. Generally those houses constructed prior to 1930 were in the greatest need of repair (about 50 percent). This compares to about 40 percent for houses constructed after 1945. A similar situation exists with houses with no running water, more than half of these were in need of repair within 10 years. However as gross farm income increased, the proportion of houses with running water increased. In the income range up to $5,000 approximately 60 percent of farms had no running water but in the income range over $20,000 less than 10 percent had no water.

The present situation reflects in part the very slow extension of basic services into rural Manitoba as much as the predominance of low incomes. Traditionally, rural Manitoba has not been the recipient of public works expenditure to the same extent as urban Manitoba, nor have widespread and intensive effective measures been taken to boost farm incomes from a marginal level to a satisfactory level. The following tables serve to illustrate some very basic differences between urban and rural Manitoba.

To cite one case example from the above, electrification began in intensity only after World War II in the rural areas, compared to the early 1900's in Winnipeg. But while the program resulted in a decrease in the differential between urban and rural conditions and a transformation of rural life to urban ways and standards, it tended to sharpen the differential between better off farmers, who could afford both internal and external electrically operated equipment and who could then operate their farms more efficiently, and the poorer farmers, who could not afford to acquire and take advantage of technological innovations. The struggle for economic survival was intensified and rural depopulation became a reality. Even by 1971 standards in rural Manitoba were lower than those prevailing in Winnipeg and Brandon. Only 71 percent of housing in rural Manitoba (excluding Brandon and Portage) had running water in 1971, only 69 percent had bathing facilities, and only 65 percent had flush toilets.

TABLE 10-6

THE PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS HAVING CERTAIN BASIC SERVICES

	1941		1951		1961	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Running Water	10.1	82	11.2	85.1	35.1	95.9
Bathing Facilities	9.8	62.7	8.3	79.1	26.6	86.5
Toilets	13.7	82.7	13.1	87.2	20.5	84.9
Electric Light	24.6	95.6	58.8	99.0	–	–
Central Heating	22.4	83.6	31.2	86.4	49.3	87.0

Source: *Canada Census*, 1941-1961.

	1941		1951		1961	
	Farm	Non-Farm	Farm	Non-Farm	Farm	Non-Farm
Running Water	1.6	24.5	8.9	14.8	33.9	36.3
Bathing Facilities	3.5	23.3	6.2	12.7	24.6	28.6
Toilets	5.1	28	10.1	17.9	17.1	23.9
Electric Light	7.3	53.5	52.2	69.1	–	–
Central Heating	17.6	30.5	31.1	31.3	52.9	45.7

Source: *Canada Census*, 1941-1961.

Analysis of the Pensioner's Housing Program indicates that, of those houses repaired in rural Manitoba (including the many small towns in the region), almost 80 percent of critical repair grants exceeded $500 in amount and almost 70 percent of the minor repair grants exceeded $500. In Winnipeg, in comparison, less than 60 percent of the critical repairs were over $500 and only 50 percent of the minor repairs exceeded $500. This would seem to indicate that rural housing is of generally poorer quality than urban housing. While 1971 census data is not yet available, it is probably safe to presume given past discrepancies that gaps between the quality and condition of rural and urban housing in Manitoba still exist.

Rural housing, both rural farm and non-farm housing, has been characterized by a predominance of single-detached dwelling units and home ownership. Indeed, in 1966* rural housing stock was 94 percent single detached in type and 85 percent home ownership in tenure. The same is true for rural towns. For example, in towns with populations of less than 5,000, the figures were 81 percent and 67 percent respectively. For towns between 5 and 10 thousand, the figures were 74 percent and 65 percent respectively, and for towns between 10 and 30 thousand the figures were 69 percent and 66 percent respectively. For the various smaller towns in rural Manitoba, the proportion of total stock in detached units ranged from a high of 94 percent in Altona to a low of 76 percent in Minnedosa and for home ownership the range extended from a high of 86 percent in Altona to a low of 61 percent in Rivers. No where did apartment buildings account for more than 18 percent stock (Carberry) and the proportion went as low as less than 1 percent (Rivers). In larger towns such as Brandon, Portage la Prairie, Selkirk and Dauphin the respective proportion of single detached units was 71, 71, 87 and 75 percent, and the respective proportion of apartment units was 24, 22, 10 and 21 percent.

The trend would appear to have continued, although perhaps less markedly. From 1965 to 1971** about 70 percent of all starts in Portage were single detached and about 45 percent in Brandon were single detached starts. Medium density housing starts accounted for only 7 and 15 percent respectively of all new starts in these cities. And, given the fact that Winnipeg accounted for by far the largest proportion of all starts, particularly in the medium and high density types, diversity and adequate stock elsewhere in Manitoba have still not been obtained. A possible exception might be Brandon where by 1971, the proportion of single detached units had dropped slightly to 68.6 percent. The age structure and total population of rural Manitoba suggests that diversity and additional stock is necessary. The over 60 age group accounts for in excess of 15 percent of the population (a situation that exists no where else in the province). Those less than 15 years of age account for about 25 percent of the total and those less than 25 years of age inclusive account for about 40 percent of the total. Rural Manitoba accounts in total for approximately one-third of the province's population.

Normal turnover in stock, a process which brings about a gradual improvement in housing conditions, takes place very slowly in rural areas. Where farming is a marginal activity at best and where the availability of low-cost financing is almost non-existent, the incentive for investing in housing is diminished and conditions deteriorate. Some of these have been outlined previously, but it should be noted as well that even conditions in urban centres have got worse. In 1961, 5.4 percent of stock in Brandon required major repair, by 1968, it was estimated 6 percent needed major repair work. In

*Canada Census, 1966.

**C.M.H.C., Prairie Regional Office, Winnipeg.

Selkirk in the corresponding time span, conditions deteriorated from 7.9 percent of stock requiring major repair to 11 percent requiring major repair.*

Given a worsening situation, at some point many families decide to leave the farm and rural depopulation with its cyclical effects on all centres in rural Manitoba becomes a real phenomenon. Rural-urban migration can be an expensive proposition for both the individual and the state. If housing is abandoned and not sold, the family loses its investment. It then, in many cases, has to rely on publicly provided services for retraining, for shelter, for unemployment insurance or the like. Usually the family must bear the moving costs. For older people (and the proportion in rural areas is increasing) who want to retire, the lack of other, easier to maintain, and less expensive accommodation near to friends and relatives may force them to stay on the farm and to share accommodation with their families, thus reinforcing overcrowded conditions. Indeed, estimating from advance census information, about 12 percent of housing in smaller towns and farm areas in rural Manitoba is overcrowded, compared to 9 percent for the province. The other option left to older people has been for them to move far away from familiar surroundings and friends. For younger families the capital investment required to acquire adequate housing in rural areas may force them to live with parents in the same house or in a mobile home next to the homestead. Given the lack of diversity in housing type in rural Manitoba, it is often difficult to obtain housing that adequately fits one's needs. There is little halfway or interim housing available to fit people other than growing families and even this is often too expensive. People are then forced to move to larger urban centres when in fact they may not want to leave.

Much has been said of the virtues of a rural life. But by any material criterion, rural housing conditions are not satisfactory. Voluntary poverty is real but it is rare and the trappings of poverty are hardly tolerable. "Pot bellied stoves may be picturesque but they tend to smoke and they are dangerous. Outdoor privies are part of the stock in trade of the comic strip cartoonist but they are no fun to visit at temperatures of 20 degrees below zero."** Rural Manitobans share many of the same tastes, attitudes, aspirations, likes and dislikes of urban Manitobans, but they do not have access to the same housing conditions.

THE NORTH

Communities in northern Manitoba fall into several categories: the short-term construction community which is based primarily on hydro developments; the declining local community which is relatively small, lacking a viable economic base but having good access to areas with strong economic activity; the stable local community which is relatively small but has a viable economic base; the isolated community which may or may not have a viable economic base but whose striking characteristic is its inaccessibility; the long-term service centre which tends to have a poor economic base though a relatively large population and substantial service facilities; the transitional urban-industrial community which may have many urban features such as piped water and sewage, hospitals, and high schools and an economic base strong enough to support a large portion of its population; and the urban industrial community which is the large, fully urbanized community based on mining and processing. Housing, as a basic requirement for life, features prominantly in all these communities, but the conditions which people live in varies from community to community.

*Urban Renewal Studies undertaken for each of these municipalities.

**Canadian Council on Rural Development, *Rural Canada 1970: Prospects and Problems*, Ottawa, 1969.

Traditionally northern housing conditions have been amongst the worst in the province. Census data shows quite clearly that northerners live in overcrowded conditions. In 1971, 28.48 percent or 4,550 dwelling units in the North were overcrowded compared to only 9.2 percent for Manitoba as a whole and 6 percent for Winnipeg. While some improvement has occurred in the last decade in terms of the number of dwelling units having certain household conveniences, the situation is still less than adequate.

In 1971, 12 percent of housing units in Manitoba lacked running water (down 12 percent from 1961) but only 1.7 percent of Brandon housing lacked running water and 1.3 percent in Winnipeg did. However, in northern Manitoba some 26 percent of homes were without running water (down 18 percent from 1961). Similarly, only 74 percent of northern housing units had inside flush toilets in 1971 compared to 87 percent for Manitoba as a whole. A decade ago, the figure for northern Manitoba was only 54 percent.

Some of the other inequities which northerners have suffered are clearly demonstrated by looking at 1961 census data* which, though out of date, is still indicative of the present situation.

Census data from 1961 also showed that only 51 percent of northern homes were heated by furnace while 47 percent were heated by a stove or space heater, 11 percent of northerners heated their homes with coal, 33 percent with wood and 52 percent with liquid fuel. It seems that only about 1 percent used electricity to heat their homes. The disparities are even more clearly evident from the monetary point of view – the median value (1961) of a northern dwelling was $3,000 while Manitoba on the whole was $10,396 and Winnipeg $12,220.

In the more established, more urban and industrial communities in the North the major factors contributing to housing problems can be isolated: a high birth rate and rapid population growth due to the influx of young people, (excluding Indian population more than 55 percent of the total northern population is under 25 and about 75 percent is under 35); a social and economic dependence on a major industry; a differentiation of residents in terms of obtaining shelter based on who their employer is; the high cost of servicing land due to lack of good building terrain; and the increasing predominance of the white population as the town matures, (a factor which has often resulted in the needs of native people being neglected).

Given the uncertainty built into one industry towns, particularly where the major industry refuses to predict its future life, it is not surprising that an attitude of reluctance to acquire fixed assets, such as housing, develops over time. Many residents take a short-term view and are more concerned with the accumulation of personal and removable assets. This is a common occurrence in frontier communities, but it results in less than adequate housing conditions.**

*1971 Census data not available.

**_Growth Centres Housing Report_, December, 1970.

TABLE 10-7

CONDITION OF DWELLINGS

Locality	In Good Condition (percent)	In Need of Minor Repairs (percent)	In Need of Major Repairs (percent)
Manitoba	68	23	7
North	57	28	14
Brandon	71	23	5
Winnipeg	72	21	6

Source: Canada Census, 1961.

In Flin Flon, for example, the condition of housing is for the most part fair (in need of paint, porch or window repairs, and new siding). In The Pas, 31 percent of the dwelling stock is in need of replacement and a further 45 percent is in need of rehabilitation. There has been a general reluctance in northern communities to invest in new infrastructure: in Wabowden only about 10 percent of the town is served by water and sewer; in Lynn Lake the sewage system is operating at capacity; and in The Pas until recently raw sewage was being discharged into a water course.

The basic problem in these northern communities has been the failure to provide sufficient housing of diverse types at costs people can afford. The single detached dwelling unit has been the favoured housing type, (63.5 percent of all dwellings). But in communities where there are many young couples and unmarried men who may have no capital reserves with which to buy housing the problem is exacerbated. In some cases the major industry will underwrite or guarantee mortgages. But in the past in order to obtain both C.M.H.C. and company financing, a prospective homeowner had to have both a good work record and credit rating. In view of the transient nature of many northern communities this can become a problem.

Living costs in the North are high, higher in fact than in many other parts of the province, and housing is one of the components contributing to this. Where mortgages have been obtained, one method devised for meeting payments or increasing income has been the substandard basement suite. In view of the usual reluctance of the major industries to provide housing for non-employees, these basement suites could readily be rented to people employed in the service industries. While this may not directly affect the "major employer", it does have serious effects on the community as a whole. Until very recently there was little or no rental accommodation available in any substantial amount. Transients or newcomers to northern communities were often forced into inadequate accommodation – anything would be better than nothing. Solutions other than traditional ones for providing additional stock at lower cost have encountered obstacles and delays. Co-operative housing and trailer parks whose clients would be lower-income earners have had difficulty in getting established until very recently.

In addition to the urban-industrial centres, there are numerous small but scattered and often isolated communities situated in the North. Their economies are based more often than not on traditional industries such as trapping and fishing. But technological change and pollution have jeopardized these activities and incomes derived from them are low. Compared to the larger cities of the North, the population of these small communities is predominantly native, either or both Indian and Metis. Population increase usually comes from high birth rates rather than from immigration. Indeed, in the North the fertility ratio is 2, 3, and even 4 times the provincial average, more than half the population is under 15 years of age, and over 65 percent is under 25. While many of these communities face an uncertain future with in many cases a deteriorating economic base and out-migration to larger more viable centres, people still live in these communities and are housed in less than adequate shelter. Poverty is not attractive and poor housing conditions both contribute to and reflect poverty. Much of the stock in these communities has been built of poor materials and with poor construction methods. Indeed, much of the housing can be described literally as shacks. Lack of or very elementary heating, plumbing, insulation, roofing and exterior finish are major indicators of poor housing condition and contribute to poor maintenance and high heating costs. Seldom do prevailing standards meet the rigours of northern living.

Interior space is usually small – it is not uncommon for 5 or 6 children and their parents to be crowded into a 3 room dwelling about 400 square feet in total size.

The North poses two sets of problems to different groups. For the white migrant to the North new housing has had to be created where none existed before. The failure has been inadequate provision of actual stock at reasonable costs. For the native population in the North already subsisting in less than adequate conditions, the failure has been lack of means to upgrade existing stock and to create new stock where necessary.

At the same time, while there is a disparity between the North and other regions of the province in terms of housing conditions, there is also a disparity between one part of the North and another. And the disparity is not immediately solved by moving people from their familiar surroundings to a new centre. Where shortages already exist for the usually more highly skilled in-migrant workers from the South, the effect is even more adverse on efforts to procure employment and housing opportunities for the native population.

Within the time frame of *Guidelines* it is anticipated that only a limited amount of new net in-migration to the North will occur so that the major problem confronting the North will become one of housing, in an adequate manner, the population that is already there. This is then a shift in emphasis: a change from the rather basic and crude housing objective of simply providing new stock, to the more sophisticated and complex objective of insuring that residential communities of a permanent nature and adequate quality are created and maintained by a program well suited to the particular problems of this area.

POLICIES FOR THE SEVENTIES

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

Our housing problems have not been eliminated and because of their very complex nature a concerted effort on the part of both the public and private sector is necessary. Insofar as high social and economic costs arising from inadequate environmental condition must be borne by the entire population, the whole community has an interest in ensuring that adequate housing in a decent residential environment is available to all its members. But the very nature of speculative profit as the basis of private interest in land and housing development and its consequences in terms of ensuring adequate housing and satisfactory residential environments if left on its own work against the stated objectives of *Guidelines*. The past history of housing in Manitoba testifies to this. Moreover, it is impossible for any private individual or organization to achieve co-ordinated development of the support structure of housing development, namely land use, sewer, water, roads, transportation, parks and related community facilities. Only if the public assumes a *creative* interventionist role can co-ordinated community development be ensured.

Provincial government participation in housing programs is of very recent origin. Prior to the election of the present government in 1969, the role was only minimal. Indeed, the record shows that before 1969 only 618 public housing units were constructed in the province and these were primarily in Winnipeg (165 in Burrows-Keewatin in 1962, 314 in Lord Selkirk Park in 1966, 89 in Burrows-Keewatin II in 1968 and 50 in remote communities such as Camperville, Bacon Ridge, Wabowden, Amaranth, Berens River, and Duck Bay in 1969). Successive housing acts imposed severe constraints on the provision of public housing. Previous governments were wedded primarily

to home ownership and the single detached house. It was widely held in the 1960's that by pouring new private market housing into the top and upper middle of the market spectrum, that is housing to serve higher income groups who could afford to buy a home, older units would filter down to serve lower income groups or that at least these groups would be able to rent housing in the private market. But this position was unrealistic. With the sudden freeing of mortgage interest rates, the rapid rise in the cost of money, the shut off in funds for urban renewal and the subsequent rapid rise in the cost of servicing residential land, it meant, in effect, that only higher income groups could obtain adequate housing.

Since 1969, the provision of adequate housing for *all* residents of the province has been a high priority. As this government stated in 1970:

> Housing policy must include alternatives which transcent the classic stereotypes of public housing and private homes. A variety of rental policies and ownership programs can be applied to achieve a wider variety of choices in particular for the lower and moderate income groups . . .
>
> Housing policy must include taking responsibility for those elements of the residential environment which the private sector cannot or will not provide, as well as those areas of the urban mileu which have direct bearing upon the future breadth of the urban complex.*

Guidelines reaffirms this commitment, a commitment which to date has been backed financially and by direct action. In 1971 with the largest program of public housing in its history, the government allocated approximately $50 million or one-tenth of the budget to the provision of housing. In 1970, loans for about 900 new units were approved, in 1971, loans for about 3800 new units were approved, and in 1972 loans for about 2400 units were approved. Slightly more than half of these units were for elderly persons housing and the remainder for family housing. The construction activity undertaken by the government in 1971 accounted for almost 50 percent of all new starts in the province that year. Perhaps the most important aspect of the government's housing program is its spatial extension. In 1970, 50 units were constructed in remote communities such as Grand Rapids, Pelican Rapids, Cormorant, Cross Lake and Thicket Portage. A year later the total had increased to 100 units in such places as Ilford, Brochet, Mallard, Barrows, Crane River and Pine Dock. In 1970, several hundred units of family and elderly persons housing were constructed in Selkirk, Carman, Brandon, The Pas, Flin Flon and Morris. A year later this program was extended to more than 800 units in such towns as Winkler, Swan River, Lac du Bonnet, St. Lazare, Ile des Chenes, Dauphin, Thompson, Eriksdale, Roblin, Minnedosa, Gretna and Ashern. By 1972, well over 50 communities outside of Winnipeg were receiving public housing.

Several other related programs are worthy of note:

(a) The Pensioners' Housing Program:

This program, which was tied in with the winter employment program, repaired 7,400 houses in 1971. Pensioners were given grants ranging from $150 to $1,000, depending on their incomes, for repairing roofs, foundations, heating equipment, for painting and tiling and many other building faults. For every one dollar contributed by the pensioners, the government contributed nearly nine dollars. Approximately 28 percent of the houses repaired were in Winnipeg and the remainder (72 percent) were located in rural Manitoba.

*The Government of Manitoba, "A Social Development Approach to Poverty – A brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty," November 4, 1970, p. 9.

(b) Leaf Rapids New Town:

This new townsite is a unique experiment in northern resource communities. Two basic principles of good residential planning are being adhered to: the government is committed to development that is in harmony with the existing terrain and vegetation and to providing maximum consumer choice and reasonable shelter costs for all the town's residents through a mix of housing types. Completed to date are 110 single detached houses and a 35 unit trailer court. Soon to be completed are 110 row housing units, 72 apartment units and an additional 30 to 40 single detached and duplex units. In view of these commitments, Leaf Rapids represents a departure from the traditional single family type subdivision development which usually occurs in new frontier towns. Leaf Rapids will not be a repeat performance of Thompson or The Pas in terms of prevailing housing conditions. Hopefully it will demonstrate that it is possible to provide the kind of residential and living conditions that many other northern towns presently lack.

(c) Landlord and Tenants Act:

In 1970 and 1971 several amendments were introduced into the Act with respect to the responsibilities of landlords and tenants. Briefly, some of the revisions concerned the right of the tenant to receive a copy of his lease, established ground rules for security deposits in terms of amount, wear, tear, and damage to the property, regulated privacy, right of entry, safety equipment, repair and health standards, termination of lease and vacation, and inability to pay rent. The Act established the office of rentalsman – a kind of court of appeal for arbitration and resolution of conflicts. Given the increasing prevalence of rental as compared to home ownership tenure, this Act was both necessary and more equitable for large segments of the population.

A HOUSING PROGRAM FOR THE 1970's

Existing housing stock will not be capable of absorbing estimated population increases for the province. To meet the objective of adequate housing for all Manitobans, an estimated 50,000-60,000 new units will need to be added to the housing stock by 1980: more than half to meet population increase, about 30 percent to relieve current overcrowding, about 10 percent, to effect a sufficient vacancy rate in the market as a whole, and about 10 percent to replace demolished or inadequate housing. Approximately 65 percent of the new construction is necessary by 1975, and the remainder, by 1980. The foregoing are only estimates based on an analysis of the current situation. A certain proportion of housing units will deteriorate so badly that it will be less expensive to replace them than to renovate them and in the normal course of events a few units will inevitably be lost because of road construction, the construction of public and private buildings, and the creation of public spaces. While *Guidelines* is intended to slow rural-urban migration, abandonment of rural housing will still occur. Different areas of the province have varying housing densities and to assess what the density will be in 1980 is extremely complex. To calculate what additional housing stock is required to meet population increase, it has been assumed that when all housing units have been uncrowded or undoubled the ratio of persons per dwelling unit will remain fairly constant to 1980. In terms of the rural/urban distribution of population, a vacancy rate of 3.5 percent is a fairly safe assumption. But it is possible that the rate could vary and in turn projections of housing stock would also vary.

FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS

Thousands of people in Manitoba have benefitted from public intervention in the housing market, and in a sense they

can be said to be the recipients of one kind of "public housing". Successive federal housing acts (1935, 1938, 1944, 1945, 1949, 1954, and 1964) have stressed similar themes but particularly the theme of providing housing for homeowners by indirect intervention through guaranteeing loans for mortgages offered by banks and private lending institutions. However, other schemes such as encouraging low-rental housing, the promotion of joint programs for urban renewal, and the provision of funds for research and urban development have often been nothing more than pronouncements backed by no real conviction and support. Indeed, between 1964 and 1969 (even though the federal government committed itself to providing 90 percent of the loan funds for the capital costs of constructing public housing), public housing starts as a proportion of total dwelling starts accounted for only 3.3 percent in Canada and .2 percent in Manitoba. Moreover, in 1971, when the present provincial government proposed building 3,600 units of public housing and applied for $50 million from C.M.H.C. to construct these units, the initial allocation was for approximately $30 million for 2,300 units. In the last two months of the year, C.M.H.C. did make an additional $20 million available, using funds not spent by the Province of Ontario. Provincial housing policy is necessarily an adjunct of federal policy given the dependence of provinces on federal financing. The scope and nature of Manitoba's program is largely determined by annual budgetary decisions from C.M.H.C. (which in turn are often inherently concerned with and tied to employment policy and general economic policy for the country as a whole).

However, recent proposed amendments to the National Housing Act set out federal policy for the next few years which seem to indicate some change in emphasis in federal policies: the acceptance and financing of co-operative housing projects; the establishment of a neighbourhood improvement program for improving local housing and residential living conditions; direct financing of repair and renovation programs for existing housing stock; the establishment of training and educational programs that will assist in the construction and designing of family housing units, in the management or operation of housing projects or in the formulation and implementation of housing policy; the provision of financing for the acquisition and clearing of land for both housing and other purposes with added incentives for maintaining land in public ownership; an increased contribution to the construction of municipal sewage treatment projects an increased contribution to facilitate home ownership through lower interest rate financing and larger loans for both new and existing stock; and purchaser consumer protection. While these changes are to be applauded (for they meet real and current needs), it remains to be seen how Manitoba itself will benefit from these amendments and what its share of monies allocated will be.

PROVINCIAL POLICIES FOR THE SEVENTIES

Housing can be regarded as an important means of income redistribution. The more vigorous a government is in redistributing incomes, the less vigorous it need be in its housing policies, and this process also works in reverse. The preceding section has demonstrated that without effective government intervention, the private sector and market mechanisms will fail to house the population as a whole in an adequate manner. There are essentially two alternative courses which government can follow to redistribute housing but one is less effective than the other:

In this first alternative, effective demand, measured in dollars, is increased either by using artificial mechanisms to raise the upper limit percentage of family in-

comes to qualify for an N.H.A. mortgage or by decreasing or subsidizing interest rates. The effect of these two methods is limited. Generally the redistribution of adequate housing to middle and moderate income groups is not achieved because the policy does not realistically consider shortages which exist on the housing supply side. Rigidities in land and service development and in the building industry transmit higher levels of demand into price increases. The final result is the rapid elimination of the benefits of such policies, resulting in failure to redistribute housing and/or income. This is a method which has been traditionally pursued by the federal government, the success rate of which has been examined in the previous section. It is a policy, moreover, which has only potential appeal for groups other than low and moderate income families in view of already high land construction and service costs inherent in single detached units.

As a second alternative, the public sector could intervene more directly to redistribute stock by controlling costs. This is achieved by creating an adequate supply and ensuring choice of housing everywhere for *all* potential consumers. This involves regulating service and land costs, vacancy rates, land use, housing mix, and interest charges. But most of all and most important, it involves the direct provision of housing stock and programs designed to maintain existing stock in habitable condition. In short, this policy aims at providing shelter that is adequate in terms of comfort and rent level to people who cannot otherwise afford it. That there is both a need and demand is reflected in the fact that more than 200 applications in Winnipeg alone are received by the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation every month. Governments have the lending power and the technical expertise to achieve such a policy and deliver the necessary programs.

To realize the stated objectives of *Guidelines,* housing policies for the 1970's have to be directed to *both low-income and moderate income families.* Current public housing programs are designed to meet the needs of some 40 percent of families living in Manitoba, those families whose incomes are below $6,000. But there is another group in the $6,000-$8,000 range who also find it difficult to obtain adequate housing. Real housing costs are comprised of land costs, construction costs, interest charges, property taxes and maintenance costs. The extent to which the public sector will have to undertake the direct provision of new housing will depend on the effect of public policies to rationalize the housing industry through controls on land, credit, construction and servicing costs and efforts to increase and redistribute income by other means.

LAND COSTS

The cost of land, particularly in the larger urban centres, is increasing faster than any other component of housing costs. Assuming a continuing high demand for housing and continued control of developable land by a very few corporations, the cost of a single serviced lot suitable for a standard N.H.A. financed bungalow can be expected to increase to $5,600 by 1975 and to $7,000 by 1980 in the Winnipeg area from $4,573* in 1971 at least. A public land bank program in the larger urban centres would enable the public sector to control the use of developable land. In addition public control of sufficient quantities of land would assist in curtailing the speculative profit expectations of land developers. At present, those few corporations who control developable land are able to establish discretionary prices for land without regard to the real market situation. Conceivably, a land bank could hold land costs for a serviced lot in Winnipeg to $5,000 by 1975 and to $5,500 by 1980. Present federal legislation makes joint land banking possible between federal and provincial or municipal governments. To be effective additional provincial funds will be required.

*C.M.H.C., *Canadian Housing Statistics,* 1971.

Another possible alternative for controlling land costs is taxation of profits made from land sales. A normal profit margin is derived from any physical improvement which transforms land from an undeveloped state to a developed one. When raw land is serviced its price increases. When parcels of land are resold, they are usually sold for a higher price than they were obtained for. When land is held for a period of time for speculative development purposes, to guarantee an acceptable (to the developer) return, the profit margin is very often high with respect to the original investment. When there are few developers and little real competition, prices can be artificially raised. It is possible to reduce the seriousness of this situation by implementing a taxation system on profits derived from land sales. The profits to be gained from land speculation can be eliminated. To do this would require a mechanism for determining the actual and real value of land, and to facilitate its operation, the publication and reporting of land sales (particularly land in larger blocks) would be necessary.

Lower land costs would enable the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation to undertake a greater variety of housing programs. For example, M.H.R.C. could purchase and renovate existing housing for resale or rental. Co-operative units could be purchased more economically for rental to low income groups or alternative home ownership patterns could be encouraged by making land available at cost to non-profit groups such as co-operatives and condominiums. Small scale subsidized rental housing projects could be more easily scattered through the urban community. If land costs are not controlled, the public sector will be faced with increased unit costs when providing new stock. Projections of the existing situation indicate that by 1975 the cost to M.H.R.C. per unit for medium and low density housing units in Winnipeg would be $19,000 and by 1980 it would be $22,000; for apartments the cost would be $13,000 by 1975 and $16,000 by 1980. These projections represent an increase from $16,500 in 1971 for medium and low density units and from $10,600 in 1971 for apartment units.

RATIONALIZATION OF SERVICES

Adequate servicing of land should be achieved at the lowest costs possible. Currently, in urban areas, private land developers pass the costs of servicing onto the housing consumer and there is little incentive to efficiency. The situation is exacerbated by the vertical integration of material suppliers, installation firms and land developers.

This government could undertake to assess all regulations covering land development with a view to establishing standards which guarantee efficient as well as qualitatively desirable ways of developing land. Efforts should also be made to develop innovative models and techniques of servicing systems as well as other development factors such as sub-division designs, landscaping and dedication of land for public facilities.

A rationalization of servicing operations can be achieved with only minor legislative changes and could be administered through a provincial agency responsible for ensuring adequate standards at the local government level. Through the regulation of engineering standards and the promotion of those that are less expensive but still provide a satisfactory residential environment, wasteful and unnecessary servicing costs can be eliminated.

In Manitoba financial incentives are required to ensure adequate provision of basic services and extension of existing services at a cost which local governments and individual home owners can afford. Steps which have already been taken in this direction include the Manitoba sewer and water assistance program and the farm water and sewer assistance pro-

gram. The Manitoba sewer and water assistance scheme provides grants and loans to rural communities to assist in financing water and sewer systems and a grant scheme to equalize water rates. The province has negotiated an agreement with the federal government to share costs of water and sewer systems in some of the larger rural centres. The farm water and sewer assistance program, also initiated in the last year provides direct grants to farmers as well as technical assistance and a bulk purchase scheme for materials.

CONSTRUCTION COSTS

Various steps can be taken to rationalize the construction industry in this province. Urban land banks would remove land holdings as a factor in competition thus paving the way for improvements in design quality and better materials. Through the development of construction techniques geared to climatic conditions in Manitoba and through other measures, the province can help to reduce the level of seasonal unemployment in the building industry. A policy which stabilizes employment will also tend to stabilize wages and the spin-off could result in some decrease in construction costs.

Manitoba's remote housing program illustrates how the housing industry can be rationalized to reduce costs and also to provide needed employment.

Special consideration will be given to designs which conform to northern weather and usage patterns and which reduce costs by utilizing local materials. A long term remote housing program will make it feasible for the government to establish pre-fabrication plants similar to the Churchill Manpower Corps plant in a number of semi-remote locations, to train local people and utilize their skills efficiently. A long-term program will also enable government to reduce the costs of materials such as insulation, heating and plumbing equipment by bulk purchasing.

CREDIT COSTS

After land costs, credit costs are the largest component of housing costs. The growing concentration of both federally approved and private financing in the apartment sector and the increasing emphasis on the financing of new housing over existing housing is making it more and more difficult for even moderate income groups to acquire adequate housing. Moreover, given that most apartment construction in the last decade has been located in Winnipeg, residents in other parts of Manitoba have been even more inadequately served by lending agencies. Under existing legislation the provincial government can borrow money at lower interest rates from the federal government. This money can be made available for publicly financed housing thus effecting lower monthly charges (up to $40 to $50) for potential homeowner and renters. Also credit can be made more readily available generally so that people desiring to buy housing can find the necessary mortgaging at reasonable costs and not be forced to pay the high interest rates imposed by private lenders. Where housing has been financed with high interest rates as in some northern communities the government can attempt to have the major employer guarantee home owners assets in the event the company closes down.

PROPERTY TAXES

This government has already begun to assume a leading role in reducing taxes against residential property as a mechanism for redistributing income and this process will be continued. Removal of property taxes reduces the cost of home ownership and thereby increases the financial capacity of families on modest or fixed incomes to acquire housing and to maintain that housing in good condition. Recognizing that property taxes are essential under the present system for the provision of services, the province pays full taxes on public housing units, with only the school taxes removed from elderly persons hous-

ing. Thus municipalities in Manitoba are not forced to suffer lower tax returns and lower levels of servicing as may be the case in other jurisdictions.

PUBLICLY FINANCED HOUSING

Because of existing needs, the public sector will have to continue to provide or finance a substantial amount of housing – possibly some 15,000 to 20,000 in the next few years. The exact amount will depend, in part, on what efforts are taken to control land, construction and servicing costs, to reduce or remove property taxes, to increase and redistribute incomes generally. In any case, provincial housing programs should be aimed at ensuring:

- new housing needed to meet new household formation, recognizing that certain groups often cannot afford adequate housing, namely the elderly, students and young families;
- new housing to reduce overcrowding, recognizing that overcrowded conditions are generally not the result of choice, but of difficult economic circumstances;
- new housing to replace abandoned, deteriorated or demolished units recognizing again that few people live in such units from choice.

The importance of the flexibility factor should not be ignored. Given some control on costs it is possible and likely that the private sector can supply housing to lower and moderate income groups. However, to ensure that the private sector does not artificially increase costs to recapture perceived loss on returns, an adequate vacancy rate is absolutely necessary. From 1975 to 1980, with the successful implementation of public policies, the province should be able to assume a less important role in financing new housing construction and in financing the acquisition of housing. In this time period, possibly only about another 2,000 to 5,000 units need be provided *directly* by the public sector.

The costs involved in these programs will depend on the kind of units which are constructed – high medium or low density, the location of the units and the size of the projects. Assuming that half the construction would be apartment units and half would be medium and low density units, and further assuming that half would be constructed in Winnipeg and the remainder in rural Manitoba, the total cost would be slightly in excess of $200 million by 1975 and about $100 million by 1980. These cost estimates take into account a rise in costs of approximately $4,900 on medium and low density and apartment units over the 10-year period. However, they do not include the cost of units designed to create adequate vacancy rates or the cost of mortgage subsidies or the cost of land banking. These cost estimates are only approximate calculations and would have to be reviewed, particularly as the effects of policies to control the costs of some of the components become apparent.

(a) Remote Housing:

The provision of housing units in remote northern communities is an immediate priority. The number of units built each year should be increased to 500 with particular emphasis on housing for the elderly and large families. By planning for a number of years and committing itself to a program, the province can establish pre-fabrication plants in a number of semi-remote locations, integrate material supply, train local people and use their skills effectively. Thus a decentralized system of housing production in the remote north can become a significant factor towards effective implementation of work-training projects in these communities. Following the example of the Northern Manpower Corps' pre-fabricated housing plant at Churchill, entire

housing units can be constructed under cover and then moved into place during the normal construction season. A streamlined delivery system of this kind will make it possible to considerably reduce construction costs in remote centres. A second aspect of the remote housing program is the question of services. Service installation training programs should be introduced to provide local residents with the necessary skills required to install and maintain their own services including water and sewer or septic tank systems. Materials would be made available at cost by the province.

(b) Elderly Persons Housing:

Rural Manitoba: In the past elderly persons housing has been predominantly full-recovery rental housing. Senior citizens on low incomes were forced to apply for a special social assistance supplement to enable them to pay the high rents involved. Moreover, these units were normally built in rural centres of over 750 population. In the past two years the government of Manitoba has shifted the emphasis in elderly persons housing to a rent-geared-to-income basis. This means that senior citizens on low incomes can obtain a suite for as low as $35 which under full recovery rental housing would cost approximately $80 monthly. A second major shift in policy has been in the direction of providing elderly persons housing in communities as small as 400 population. The fundamental principle underlying this policy is the *stay option.* Senior citizens who have spent all their working lives associated with a particular community or district should not be forced by economic circumstances to retire far away from their home communities. In smaller communities with marginal potential for growth, efforts are being made to utilize elderly persons housing of a portable or pre-fabricated nature. The province is embarking on a program of gradually blending rent-geared-to-income programs with full recovery rental projects in order to eliminate serious differences in the rental levels and services provided to different groups of elderly Manitobans.

Urban Manitoba: The problems posed by elderly persons housing in urban centres is characterized by the need to provide a diversity of locational alternatives and building types for senior citizens. High-rise buildings in downtown locations well situated in relation to services, social and cultural activities and public transportation are required. Many senior citizens want to be able to participate in a wide spectrum of activities and for these people downtown locations are ideal. A second type of elderly persons housing are the medium density developments located on the fringes of the inner city and well situated to existing residential areas, services, public transportation, and parks. Also required are low-rise motel scale accommodation in suburban locations. These developments are, as far as possible, located close to public transportation, shopping and other services and facilities. The advantage of this type of development is the proximity to suburban areas where the elderly residents' families may live.

In all of the M.H.R.C. projects the assumption is that residents are substantially able to take care of themselves. Personal and partial care homes are operated by other private or public agencies. Wherever possible and desired by the community, M.H.R.C. does make an attempt to build in locations which are linked, or at least close, to existing personal care or intensive care facilities. As the supply and choice of elderly persons housing is increased, it should be possible for M.H.R.C. to turn its resources to the complex problem of repair and renovation of existing housing which is currently providing market rent accommodation to senior citizens often at levels beyond their ability to pay. In this area a number of alternative approaches are being considered: housing can be purchased and refinanced at lower interest rates; rental subsidies can be applied;

grants and rent subsidies can be provided to present property owners on condition they will provide substantially improved housing to senior citizens on a rent-geared -to-income basis.

(c) Family Housing:

The well-being of the family unit and consequently the well-being of society as a whole is indivisably linked with the environmental conditions under which that family is obliged, or enabled, to live. Consequently, it is of the highest priority to Manitobans to ensure that all families are provided with adequate housing in an acceptable residential environment and costing a reasonable proportion of their income.

Public Financed Rental Housing: Groups requiring assisted rental housing include low-income families, single parent families particularly those with female heads of households, families where one or other member of the family is incapacitated, young couples who may be starting out on low incomes and single young people starting out in life. Until such time as the income levels of low-income groups can be significantly increased, there will continue to be a need for assisted rental housing for this group where housing costs are adjusted to income levels. As far as possible M.H.R.C. attempts to achieve the goal of dispersing assisted rental housing throughout the city in such a way as to permit full integration into the larger residential community area. Public assisted rental housing should not, if possible, exceed 40-45 units and is most desirably organized in groups of 30-32 units which are ideal for transformation into condominiums in the future. Assisted rental family housing should include adequate internal and external space and access to safe indoor or outdoor childrens' play areas. It should also be located close to centres of employment and within easy access of schools, other community facilities and public transportation and should include a diversity of housing types.

Publicly Assisted Home Ownership: Before home ownership can become a real alternative for low and moderate income Manitobans, the goal of full employment and the option to enjoy a reasonable level of well-being in all areas of the province must be made real. At the present time less than 30 percent of Manitoba householders can afford to purchase a standard N.H.A. financed home. Recently changes in the National Housing Act have been introduced which, if implemented in conjunction with other programs, could make home ownership available to an additional 20-25 percent of the population in the moderate income bracket, ($6,000-$9,000). Some of the alternatives which the Manitoba government will be looking at to assist home ownership are: acquisition, renovation and refinancing of housing stock for resale or rental (this program will be of necessity limited to ensure that the number of units acquired will not unduly inflate the housing market); reductions and subsidies on interest charges to reduce monthly housing payments; acquisition and refinancing of existing multiple unit projects for operation by co-operative housing groups; and provision of land at cost and technical and entrepreneurial assistance to co-operative housing associations and condominium corporations.

In rural areas the relatively low cost of land increases the possibilities for home ownership amongst low-income families. Some of the difficulties in administering and managing rental housing accommodation adds to the attractiveness of individual home ownership as the mainstay of family housing in rural areas. However, there must be an adequate supply of serviced land for new housing stock in all rural communities and there must be a capacity to renovate and refinance older existing housing units which still have many more years of useful life. The provision of an adequate stock of elderly persons' housing must be combined with a ready market for the houses which they leave behind.

In one-industry centres where existing housing stock can often only be financed at 75-80 percent of the mortgage value at higher than conventional interest rates, many families take on second mortgages. It is not unusual to find families spending 50-60 percent of their income for shelter. As a consequence many families in centres such as Thompson, Flin Flon and Lynn Lake are forced to rent rooms and even entire suites in their homes to defray the incredibly high carrying costs of home ownership. The government can consider financing on a rent-geared-to-income basis as well as refinancing existing housing on the basis of 95 percent of the lending value.

REPAIR AND RENOVATION:

While new construction is necessary to meet current and future housing demands, repair and renovation of existing units is equally important in realizing the *Guidelines* objective of adequate housing for *all* Manitobans. The development of repair and renovation programs should be a major thrust of Manitoba's housing policy over the next decade and particularly after 1975 when most of the urgently required housing will have been provided, thus enabling the province to move to a maintenance function.

Probably as much as 85 percent of the housing in Manitoba which is in need of repair is either rented or owned by low and moderate income groups. But it is a costly undertaking to repair and renovate existing housing. For units in need of major repair at least $4,000 is required to provide sewer and water facilities, and/or new rooms, and/or foundations, roof and heating repairs. For units in need of minor repairs about $1,000 is required to repair walls, to paint, to repair windows and doors. Grants and low interest loan schemes can be provided by the province to encourage home-owners to undertake needed repairs. Similarly, the proposed new federal legislation sees the extension of aid to families, municipalities and provinces for improving existing housing with loans for repair not exceeding $4,000 per unit, with increased loans of up to 50 percent of the cost for municipal sewage and treatment projects, with reductions in the costs of production, installation and use of plumbing and heating equipment.

Public assistance to repair and renovate existing units raises a basic question concerning the extension of public monies to landlords to repair premises. The province can explore several alternatives: grants to landlords for repairs and renovations combined with rent controls; acquisition of units in fair condition which would be repaired for resale or rental; penalty systems to insure that rental accommodation is in good repair and to prevent unreasonable rent increases.

Renovation and repair programs are designed to enable people to live in healthy and safe conditions, to reduce over-all maintenance and operating costs, to contribute to both a longer life expectancy for the unit and a more stable tenancy for the resident. They assist in stabilizing residential neighborhoods and in reducing stress imposed by intolerable conditions both inside and outside the housing unit itself. In rural areas particularly, given the "scatteration" of housing it is probably less expensive to repair what exists than to build new units and also less expensive to add on to existing units than to construct larger new units to accommodate larger sized families. In addition repair and renovation programs can be used to counter cyclical and seasonal unemployment in the building industry as well as providing a vehicle for manpower training.

RELOCATION PROGRAMS

In cases where people want to work on the farm but, at the same time, want to share more directly in the amenities and services of urban centres, farm houses themselves can be relocated. This is a

particularly desirable solution to problems caused by the relative isolation of the farm unit. While the farmer would have to commute to the location of his job, it means that his family can be nearer to schools, to medical care, to recreation, to shops and entertainment. It also means that where servicing is either or both expensive and difficult that the extension of such services is more visible. For people, particularly the elderly, who want to retire from farming and whose house is in good condition, a program of relocation can be devised to enable them to move their house to a nearby urban centre or small community. This would allow them to remain close to their friends and families and also enjoy some of the benefits of "urban" type comforts.

In the remote north, where the economic viability of many towns is weak, many people will consider moving to urban-industrial centres. Special consideration should therefore be given to policies which allow people some choice and means for locating elsewhere. A housing relocation program which provides pre-fabricated mobile units is one alternative, as is a program of extending grants and loans for materials and house purchase, or a program of guaranteeing available housing in larger centres, whether it be rental and/or temporary. While the duality of the North is real, the linkages in terms of the movement of people and the availability of employment are equally real and housing policies should be designed to accommodate the interaction.

SUPPORT PROGRAMS

Information: Comprehensive information should be made available free to the public about the cost and availability of new and existing housing in both the rental and sales sectors, land and service cost increases, and quality changes in housing (a reduction in overcrowding, improved services, streets, parks and schools). Such an information system should include: a computerized model of the entire housing market from which both the public and private sectors could prepare detailed annual and multi-annual projections; a central registry of housing for the entire province which would become the information core of the data bank and would be readily available to the public; an information retrieval system by which a district, municipality or a larger city could obtain a record and measure its performance relative to national and provincial standards; a statutory requirement whereby the province, district or municipality would issue a report on housing in their location. All of this could be done without any infringement on the privacy of particular landlords or tenants.

Consumer and Producer Protection: At any particular time new construction comprises no more than 3 to 4 percent of total housing stock. Consequently if public intervention is to be effective in improving housing conditions it must assist not only the consumer awaiting the addition of new stock, but also consumers having problems associated with the turnover and re-use of existing stock. There is a need to protect those who work in building construction itself. To this end, establishing and maintaining land use controls and standards including building regulations and code enforcement, construction and safety standards and public health and welfare standards are important. As the housing market becomes increasingly complex it is essential for the housing consumer, both renter and purchaser, to be adequately protected against shoddy planning, construction, and maintenance of all aspects of the residential environment. Amendments to the Landlord and Tenant Act established the office of the Rentalsman. This office and/or the Consumers Bureau could be expanded or restructured to protect potential house buyers. Subsidies to public transit companies in the province could be increased to ensure better service at reasonable costs for public transporta-

tion in urban centres. Grants could be tied to specific performance criteria.

Provision of Entrepreneurial Expertise and Program Co-ordination: In many areas of housing in Manitoba and in particular in centres removed from Winnipeg, entrepreneurial expertise (the capacity to provide the organizational and innovative action required to get new and creative programs off the ground) is severely limited by the lack of trained and experienced personnel. Some of the areas in which this kind of program need arises are construction and building repair training, co-operative housing (both sweat equity and continuing), housing and project management and administration at the local level, and the development of new towns or expansions to existing ones in rural and remote areas where the private sector is unwilling to take the risks involved. The extension of public assistance in these directions would encourage the direct participation of, and the development of skills amongst, local people in the actual provision, repair and operation of housing stock. In this area of housing policy, new federal proposals suggest possible financial support for the implementation of such programs.

Research and Development: The public sector has the financial resources and responsibility to employ persons capable of undertaking needed research on all aspects of housing development, whether it be the design of individual projects, the development of new technology, the study of particular needs of certain groups in a community or the determination of methods for making housing adequate and available at reasonable costs. The province can become the measure for other agencies and organizations in the quality of housing and residential development. As a result it can be anticipated that grants to universities and institutes will be extended to undertake some of this needed research.

DELIVERY OF THE HOUSING PROGRAM

Currently major public responsibility and authority for housing resides within the provincial government itself. The system of program design and delivery is a highly centralized one, essentially provided by one agency – the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation. However M.H.R.C. is not the exclusive or only agent. Other departments (Health and Social Development, Agriculture, Co-operative Development, Education, Urban, Municipal and Northern Affairs) do have some input especially when concerns other than the delivery of housing units themselves are involved. Indeed certain aspects of the total residential and community environment are greatly affected by implementation and co-ordination of programs and policies through these departments. In the next years, co-ordination will have to be stressed. Outside of Winnipeg, communities which have public housing generally have housing authorities responsible for selecting tenants, maintenance of housing units, collecting rents, and looking after general management. Membership on Housing Authorities by election or appointment usually comprises two elected representatives from the project, two representatives appointed by the municipal government and two representatives appointed by the provincial government. Many more of the functions that comprise the delivery of housing programs than those now carried by local housing authorities can be decentralized.

In larger urban centres, such as Brandon, or Dauphin, local land banking is possible. Zoning, land use mapping and municipal servicing are all possible at the local level. Calling tenders for construction or for repair and renovation of housing units at the local level can oftentimes encourage local firms. Supervisory staff and inspectors can be located closer to projects underway. Local needs studies with respect to public housing, sewer and water, repairs and renovation can all be

handled locally. The rationale for local delivery of all or some aspects of housing programs is that different areas experience different problems, or that problems vary in intensity. Age levels, cultural and ethnic traditions, settlement and activity patterns, climatic and topographical features, and labour force participation vary throughout the province. When certain functions are locally based it is usually easier to assess individual and real need, to perceive problems not just in the abstract but in terms of how they directly and personally affect people.

Because little decentralization presently exists, it will take some time to restructure the delivery system. In terms of housing and the residential environment certain mechanisms for central co-ordination will first have to be established. It is important to realize that because of the very complexity of housing and the way in which it is related to so many other factors of life – employment, health, recreation, education – that some integration of service delivery is necessary whether it be co-terminous delivery and service centres, whether it be central co-ordination or whether it be regional liaison between local advisory boards. Because the operations involved in repair and renovation programs are more "local" in nature than those for the delivery of new units it is probable that first attempts at decentralization will likely begin here. Many of the skills and resources – materials, carpenters, plumbers, contractors, electricians, labourers, secretarial and office staff – required to administer and carry out such a program already exist in many communities in the province and where they do not training programs can be established.

Having once established a skilled labour force in a local area, decentralization of new unit delivery is easier to carry out. In some respects it is a much more sophisticated and complex program than repair/renovation. Architectural, planning, and engineering skills are usually to be found only in larger urban centres and either major incentives will have to be provided to encourage people from these professions to locate throughout the province or M.H.R.C. can be expanded to include teams of planners, architects, landscape architects and engineers. In any case, overall policy co-ordination, research and development will have to be retained at the central level to ensure an effective checks and balance system for the best allocation of scarce resources to meet real needs. Eventually a well-integrated and soundly established decentralized system can exist. Instead of local advisory boards composed of appointed citizens, housing authorities can be composed of elected representatives. In either case, participation is a prime pre-requisite for the local articulation of local needs and interests.

Education

Traditionally, the main purpose of education has been to prepare the individual to function in his environment, in his community. Education has centred on primary and secondary schooling where children are taught basic skills, learn to interact with each other and society, and ideally are able to develop their creativity and particular talents.

Education, through the primary and secondary school system, also serves another purpose – to reinforce the values of society. The learning process in schools reflects the norms and expectations of society. For example, society deems that work is good, that everyone should seek a job after completing school. Education thus becomes job-oriented. Since high school credentials have become a basic requirement for most good jobs, success at school means passing grades in order to be able to obtain economic and social rewards.

Schooling of children has long been seen as of vital importance for both the individual and the society. Generally compulsory attendance has been enforced up to the mid-teenage years on the assumption that everyone must receive a common core of preparation to become a competent citizen. "Free" education financed by provincial revenues and property taxes has been provided to ensure no one is denied education due to their financial situation.

This provision of "free" education for all children has not, however, meant equal education for all children. Simply providing a school building and a teacher in every community does not in itself guarantee equality of educational opportunity. The school system itself must be sensitive to the varying economic and social situations within which it works. Teaching children so they will be prepared to work when they leave school means little if they do not have equal chances at a job or if there are no jobs for them when they leave school.

These factors and others have brought the long accepted standards and objectives of education under serious question. Are financial resources being used in the best way to provide educational opportunities to all citizens of Manitoba regardless of their socio-economic position, geographic location, sex, age, or race? Are the schools providing enough alternative programs to meet the diverse needs throughout the province?

Concerns with the system have arisen not only because of changes internal to education but also as a result of changes in society as a whole. A predominant characteristic of the decline in rural population has been the centralization of educational facilities along with other services in larger centres. This has meant that the education process is further removed from the community setting and local involvement. Frustration with this has

been expressed by some parents who feel more isolated from the workings of what was once a local school and by students who in some instances have difficulty relating to the larger and sometimes more alienating environment.

In some small communities which still have educational facilities, the school appears to have taken on a special significance. The continued existence of the local school is seen as necessary to ensure the future viability of the community. However, if current trends of rural depopulation were to continue these remaining small schools would face difficulty in keeping up with program and staff requirements. The fact that some of these schools are unable to offer a normal variety of courses and suffer from inadequate facilities has also tended to accelerate migration to larger communities with better educational opportunities.

In major urban areas of the province the trend has also been towards the establishment of large educational institutions. The need for greater local involvement and participation with the school is as important in urban areas as it is in the rural regions of the province.

In 1972 some $200 million was spent in Manitoba on elementary and secondary education. In the same year the system embraced 245,000 students (one quarter of the province's population) and 12,000 teachers. In 1968 total expenditures amounted to $135 million. Since that time expenditures have grown by over 10 percent a year.

By contrast, the yearly growth rate of the gross provincial income over the same time-span has been 7.9 percent, while student population during that same time period has shown an increase of only 0.9 percent. In addition, property values in the province have risen at an overall rate of only 4.5 percent during the five-year period.

In spite of the fact that educational expenditures have increased at a rapid rate over the last five years, there is still a good deal of inequality within the educational system. If the balanced assessment per student of unitary school divisions is used as a measure of the relative wealth of those divisions, the available data shows a marked gap in expenditure per pupil figures between wealthy and poor school divisions. While differences in expenditures relate partially to differences in the educational needs of school divisions and the relative willingness of communities to tax themselves, the principal factor is the wealth of the school division. The result is that to a significant extent educational opportunity remains dependent on the property tax base of the school division.

Much of the increase in expenditures can be attributed to hiring teachers with more years of university training, lower pupil-teacher ratios, and the building of newer and larger facilities. The educational value received from these larger expenditures is in some doubt. It cannot be stated with any confidence that students leave the educational system today better prepared for employment or further training. In fact, much research in education seems to indicate that the success of the student in the school system is more closely related to the socio-economic background of the student than to the facilities provided for learning.

Thus, in looking at the financing of education, the relevant question to ask is how much money should be spent on particular programs which will better meet the needs of students given socio-economic, geographical, and intellectual differences.

This chapter deals briefly with the present educational system and its financing followed by a discussion of the government's plans to review the financing system and the roles of school divisions, the community and the Department of Education. The discussion is concerned only with primary and secondary educa-

tion. A task force on post-secondary education under the Department of Colleges and Universities Affairs is currently surveying the post secondary educational needs of Manitoba.

THE GOALS

Education policy for the seventies will be directed toward the achievement of three basic objectives: equality of educational opportunity, responsiveness to community needs, and broadening educational programs.

These goals reflect the four general principles underlying *Guidelines for the Seventies:* maximization of general well-being, greater equality, the *stay option* and widened participation.

Education is of course a crucial component of those social goods and services which the public should provide to improve the general well-being of Manitobans. As a social good, educational facilities and programs should be equally accessible to all Manitobans, and should meet the needs of all citizens regardless of their economic situation or geographical location. The principle of the *stay option* is implicit in this latter goal: if equal educational opportunity is assured in all regions of the province, poor educational facilities will not be a reason for migration of families to larger centres. Participation, the fourth general principle of *Guidelines,* requires that local citizens be given an increased voice over school programs, policies, and budgets and thus a better opportunity to affect education in their community.

EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Increased and varied educational opportunities must be provided if all Manitobans are to have an equal chance of receiving a basic education as well as a chance to further develop their individual talents and skills.

Although equality of education has long been an objective, it has not been realized. At present people from different social and economic backgrounds receive different levels of educational services. The aim of the Manitoba government is to accelerate the movement towards an education system that provides all citizens, whatever their economic and social background, with equal access to the resources offered by the educational system.

A SCHOOL SYSTEM RESPONSIVE TO COMMUNITY NEEDS

A greater degree of decentralization of authority from the provincial Department of Education to the school division and local community level should be attempted. This transfer of decision making powers back to the community is firmly rooted in the belief that a more effective school system will result from the input of local knowledge and understanding.

The principle of local discretion and control has long been recognized as a fundamental element of the educational system. However, in recent years financial and administrative mechanisms, essentially those associated with the Foundation Program of school grants, have been centralized to a point where there is some lack of flexibility and sensitivity in meeting local needs. This central control should be loosened to permit citizens more meaningful participation in the educational opportunities offered by their communities' schools. If we are to re-introduce meaningful participation as well as allow a creative planning role for the Department, we must ensure that functions are decentralized to the level at which local self interest and identification can realize their full expression.

A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

The use and nature of educational facilities will have to be re-examined and re-

defined if the changing needs of society are to be reflected in our schools.

The comprehensive school system will have to recognize new definitions of student and teacher. The traditional idea of a student must grow to include not just a specific age group but learning for adults as well as those with emotional, physical, mental, and social handicaps. It should be recognized that at times the "leader" in a learning situation can be a student, a resource person from the community, or an experienced adult, as well as a professional teacher. Other long-held views concerning the hours and days of schooling, the facilities to be utilized, and the nature and manner in which programs are presented should be re-thought and re-organized under a comprehensive education system.

Priorities must be established so that limited resources will be effectively allocated to meet specified objectives. Such objectives must be developed to reflect the changing needs and values of society and planning must incorporate the participation of students, parents, teachers, and the public as well as school trustees, administrators and the provincial government.

THE PRESENT EDUCATION SYSTEM

Before dealing with the manner in which the educational system should move to achieve the three goals of provincial education policy – Equality, A School System Responsive to Community Needs, and A Comprehensive System of Education – it is necessary to examine the system as it presently functions. To what extent does the current system promote these three goals?

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The concept of equity in educational opportunity recognizes that individuals entering the school system vary with respect to their social, cultural, and economic backgrounds as well as their physical, psychological and intellectual capacities for learning. Equality of educational opportunity does not simply mean that expenditure per student figures be equal across the province. Nor does it imply that all students should come out of the school system with identical knowledge. Differing levels of resources and efforts must be expended in order to provide access to educational opportunities for students with diverse needs. The educational system should be prepared to reach not just the average child, but all children to allow them to develop to their fullest potential.

At present, it is difficult to determine if the level and distribution of resources are meeting the varying needs of students because there are few means of measuring results of the schooling process. As a result, the only option is to determine whether a minimal requirement for equality in educational opportunity is being met and to ensure that resources and efforts are not affected by the factors of wealth, race, socio-economic origin, or geographical remoteness.

The Manitoba school system has long recognized the requirement of equal access to resources. Where once tuitions were required of students and textbooks were a necessary expense, these costs are now carried jointly by the provincial government and property owners. The provincial government bears 100 percent of approved costs for school facilities and provides a grant of up to $175 per transported student. These supports recognize that relatively poor school divisions must have access to more funds than they can raise themselves in order to provide equality of access to education.

One way in which to assess the eveness of access to educational resources is to examine some indicators of the nature and quality of education in rural as compared to urban regions. The following discussion examines three such indicators.

(a) Distribution of Teachers

Since the instructional grant is an incentive grant for hiring teachers at higher classifications, and since poor school divisions find it more difficult to pay the additional salaries required for these teachers, the relatively poor school divisions receive lower provincial instructional grants. For example, the five divisions with the lowest balanced assessment per pupil were also among those receiving the lowest per pupil instructional grant.

A comparison of the classification of teachers by school divisions indicates that the rural divisions tend to have high concentrations of teachers in the lowest classifications. The reverse is true of urban and suburban divisions.

TABLE 11-1

1972 INSTRUCTIONAL GRANT AND BALANCED ASSESSMENT PER PUPIL
SELECTED SCHOOL DIVISIONS

School Division	Teacher Salary Grant per Pupil	Balanced Assessment Per Pupil
URBAN		
Winnipeg	$354.59	$14,823
Fort Garry	323.06	13,252
Norwood	331.44	11,616
Seven Oaks	327.35	8,667
St. James-Assiniboia	309.77	9,978
RURAL		
Lakeshore	275.84	4,256
Duck Mountain	275.65	3,583
Kelsey	268.86	3,506
Pine Creek	280.21	7,127
Turtle River	285.81	4,547

Source: Department of Education

TABLE 11-2

1970 DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS AND BALANCED ASSESSMENT PER PUPIL
SELECTED SCHOOL DIVISIONS

School Division	Balanced Assessment Per Pupil	Percent of Teachers Class 3 and Below
URBAN		
Winnipeg	$13,371	35.9
Fort Garry	9,306	37.5
Assiniboine South	11,607	43.3
Seven Oaks	8,016	39.3
St. James-Assiniboia	9,157	48.2
RURAL		
Lakeshore	4,007	64.1
Duck Mountain	3,319	79.6
Kelsey	3,407	64.2
Pine Creek	6,685	66.7
Turtle River	4,171	65.7

Source: Department of Education

One factor contributing to this difference is that it is difficult for rural and remote school divisions to attract and hold degreed teachers without offering higher compensation. Table 11-3 shows, for example, that while 29 rural divisions had some 38 percent of the teachers in unitary divisions, only 29 percent of all degreed teachers taught in these divisions.

(b) Vocational Education

Analysis of 1969-70 data on the availability of vocational educational courses in the Manitoba school system indicates that rural divisions are distinctly disadvantaged in terms of access to such programs.

The disparity illustrated in Table 11-4 was alleviated to some extent in 1971-72 through the establishment of four regional vocational schools, two in the Winnipeg metro area and two in rural areas – Selkirk and Dauphin. Three additional schools are under construction in Brandon, Swan River, and Steinbach. Provision of these schools should go far towards improving the access to vocational educational facilities throughout the province.

One of the primary reasons for the disparities in the provision of vocational services to the rural school division is the cost of such programs, especially for schools with small enrollments. Vocational education programs, particularly for vocational industrial programs, are quite expensive.

The vocational industrial grants which went into effect in September, 1970, on the basis of $32.50 per pupil per month, have done much to defray the higher costs of such education. Nevertheless, these incentive-type grants are of more assistance to wealthier school divisions which can more easily afford to match from their special levy the additional costs above the provincial grants.

(c) Library Materials

A study undertaken by Statistics Canada for its annual report on libraries indicates that when rural and urban school divisions are compared as to books, periodicals and audio-visual materials, the rural school divisions are substantially disadvantaged. Table 11-5 illustrates this disparity in the provision of library materials.

TABLE 11-3

TEACHERS WITH DEGREES IN UNITARY SCHOOL DIVISIONS 1971-72

Location of Division	Number of Divisions	Total Number of Teachers	Percent of Provincial Teachers	Number of Degreed Teachers	Percentage of Provincial Degreed Teachers
Rural	29	4,079	37.70	1,619	28.87
Urban	11	6,741	62.30	3,989	71.13
TOTAL	40	10,820	100.00	5,608	100.00

Source: Department of Education

TABLE 11-4

ENROLLMENTS IN VOCATIONAL AND BUSINESS EDUCATION COURSES IN UNITARY DIVISIONS, 1971

Location	Number of Divisions	Total Number of Students	Percent of Provincial Student Population	Total Enrollments in Vocational Education	Percentage of Provincial Enrollments
Rural	36	101,958	44.74	1,661	25.79
Urban	10	125,949	55.26	4,779	74.21
TOTAL	46	227,907	100.00	6,440	100.00

Source: Department of Education

A recently introduced $12 per student grant by the province to school divisions is helping improve the opportunity for schools to acquire books. In years where divisions do not have to channel the majority of these grants into textbook purchases, they can purchase general reference books or audio-visual material.

SCHOOL FINANCING

The previous section indicates that rural schools appear to be disadvantaged in comparison to urban schools. While this does not necessarily mean students in small rural schools receive a poorer education, it does mean there are variations in the opportunities students experience.

The method of financing education has a large bearing on these variations in program offerings and alternatives.

There are two sources of revenue for schools in Manitoba – the Foundation Program and local tax levies. The Foundation Program provides a salary grant for teachers, a grant for maintenance, instructional supplies, print and non-print material, transportation, and capital grants. These funds are raised from the provincial Consolidated Revenue Fund (80 percent) and from the provincial Foundation Program levy on the balanced assessment of property (20 percent). However, the Foundation Program does not cover even the lowest cost current educational program in the province. All school divisions must raise additional monies through the special levy on property to meet educational costs, but some divisions have much greater latitude in providing educational services and programs because they are more wealthy, and thus can more readily raise larger amounts of funds with lower mill rates.

When the Winnipeg School Division taxes itself at 40 mills it can raise $592.92 per pupil. But a division such as Duck Mountain can only raise $143.32 per pupil with the same effort. This means that the Winnipeg Division is able to spend $904.80 per pupil while Duck Mountain spends only $521.58 per pupil.

(a) Instructional Grants

Part of the difference in per pupil expenditures can also be explained by the way in which the Foundation Program works. The instructional portion of the Foundation grant – about two-thirds of the operational grant – is based upon recognition of the academic qualifications of

TABLE 11-5

LIBRARY SERVICES IN REPORTING UNITARY DIVISIONS, 1969-70

	Books		Periodicals		Audio-Visual Materials		
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	TOTAL
Number of Divisions	8	24	8	24	8	24	32
Total Number of Students	86,913	73,596	86,913	73,596	86,913	73,596	160,507
Total Number Items	698,252	331,185	5,517	1,433	70,357	14,577	84,934
Items Per Student	8.03	4.50	.063	.019	.810	.198	.529
Percent of Students	54.15	45.85	54.15	45.85	54.15	45.85	100.00
Percent of Items	67.83	32.17	79.38	20.62	82.84	17.16	100.00

Source: Statistics Canada

teachers. This means that the grant formula encourages school divisions to hire teachers with more academic qualifications and experience by providing more grant monies on this basis. For example, a teacher with a bachelor's degree, and specified levels of both academic and professional training, is a class four teacher on the salary grant code and more grant monies are provided for this teacher than for one with only professional training and no degree. There are seven salary classifications of teachers and more grant money is given for higher classifications. However, the salaries paid to teachers are greater than the salary grants and the differences generally increase as the experience and qualifications of the teacher increase.

The salary difference must be paid out of the special levy on property. In order to raise the money to pay the salary differences, poor school divisions must tax themselves at higher rates than wealthier divisions. The less wealthy school divisions, unable to tax themselves at very high rates, maintain a teaching staff of proportionately lower teacher classifications than the wealthy divisions. The total levy from the property tax is held to a level that the community can afford.

Incentive grant monies are paid to school divisions for each authorized teacher employed as the experience and/or academic background of the teachers increase. This incentive mechanism was expected to enhance the quality of educational instruction in the schools and spur teachers to upgrade their skills by acquiring additional university credits and degrees. The expectations were in some measure met. Teachers of higher academic standing and greater experience have been employed but their distribution throughout the school divisions of the province is markedly uneven as is shown in Table 11-2.

The instructional grant portion of the Foundation Program is tied to a given pupil/teacher ratio. While schools are free to use their resources to employ more teachers than authorized, they cannot employ fewer without a loss of funds to the division. As a result, no other staffing mix is recognized as valid for funding purposes, except the ratio of 23 secondary or 28 elementary students to one certified teacher.

This grant structure also results in another limitation in the school system. Clearly teachers, students, parents and departmental officials recognize that there are valuable resource people in the community who have a role to play in the schools. In this category are people who may have had practical experiences rather than university qualification as well as volunteer workers, community leaders, and so on. It is the ability to diversify for particular programming by the use of these people which is made difficult under the existing financial arrangements. Divisions are again penalized for injecting new resources into their program as any additional classroom personnel must be otherwise funded.

(b) Capital Expenditures

As originally conceived, the notion of provincial assistance was designed to aid in equalizing the basic costs of the major educational components. A primary concern was with the actual construction and periodic renovation of school facilities. These capital costs represent major expenditures which would impose an unreasonably high burden if borne directly by the residents of the area. As well, the construction of schools and the subsequent operating costs must be planned with a long range view of area demands and existing facilities.

The process for construction or expansion of school facilities involves the school division making application to the Public Schools Finance Board. In some cases school divisions may be unfamiliar with the criteria applicable to new school construction as they have little or no planning

assistance available. Proposals may be forwarded without the benefit of a division plan projecting long term needs, alternative facilities, and so on. Local efforts may not coincide well with their needs or provincial perceptions of priorities. Without a local planning input the province must judge on the basis of standard usage patterns, whereas more suitable arrangements might result from a combined local and provincial consultative planning effort.

Moreover, the financing system generally operates in terms of building the standard school facility with a given number of classrooms. Although this may meet the needs of many communities there are others which could proceed with less permanent and more flexible facilities on an experimental basis. For example, communities with an uncertain population base might be able to utilize available community buildings and recreation facilities in place of a formal school. In some instances these facilities are already under-utilized in the community and could best be put to use for education purposes.

Lack of flexibility in reflecting local needs may also result in the building of inappropriate school facilities. School buildings with sometimes excessive partitioning into classrooms are predicated on the traditional school program. Classrooms will require teachers, the facility will have to be used for sufficient periods of time to justify its construction, students will have to be brought to occupy the space, and once again many of the key decisions as to the educational program will already have been made.

CENTRALIZATION

In an effort to take advantage of technology in education, alleged efficiencies in administration and economies of scale to be gained from consolidation, there has been a good deal of centralization within the school system. While uniform funding by the province for set program areas in schools throughout Manitoba has advantages, it also usually means a reduction in local input and involvement in the schooling process.

When grant monies are categorized for salaries, administration, supplies, materials, vocational education, transportation, capital works, and major maintenance there can be no transfer of funds from one grant category to meet another need. There is no incentive to economize if the grant funds that are freed cannot be utilized for other activities. The objective of a school division is to maximize the funds that can be obtained through the Foundation Program. This tends to limit the undertaking of any long-range planning for programs at the local level. The funds are categorized for specific purposes and little incentive is provided for seeking out alternatives which will enhance educational quality within existing dollar constraints.

Centralization of functions related to curriculum is also a factor in the current educational process. The Department of Education curriculum division recommends course content and procedure in curriculum guides which it issues in all subject areas. These guides do not have to be followed by teachers but in many cases they become the basis for course content. This is good in the sense that some uniformity in course content is present throughout the province but it has shortcomings in that local differences and needs often are not met.

It is from the development of innovative curricula to suit the needs of particular parts of the province that the school system can capture the diversities of Manitoba society. In many cases, teachers and trustees are hard-pressed to suggest or develop curriculum specifically designed for their requirements. There is both a hesitation in feeling that they lack the necessary expertise as well as the practical time constraints associated with operating the regular program. What

may be needed is a movement by the Department of Education towards providing more resource people in the field who would help local divisions and schools set up locally oriented programs and courses.

The role of school inspector offers another example of centralization. The inspector's function is to visit schools in order to report on teacher effectiveness to the Department of Education. Sometimes this process of inspection occurs without sufficient appreciation of the particular classroom situation with the result that the information gathered is sometimes of limited use to the teacher. The evaluation role involves a good deal of subjectivity and this combined with the limited interaction between the inspector and staff on an on-going basis severely limits the inspector's effectiveness.

An evaluation or monitoring system should move away from inspection from above and employ methods more comprehensive than merely teacher rating. This means that co-operative instruction and consultation would form an integral part of an evaluation process. In this context the inspectors could well become resource persons to the divisions which could utilize the expertise of the inspector to improve certain underdeveloped teaching skills.

It is clear that there is an anomaly between the level at which functions can most effectively be performed and the location of the responsibility for them. Even the limited review of school construction planning, curriculum development, and training suggests that in many cases divisions do not have the capacity to participate meaningfully enough in many important decisions affecting their schools.

If local people are to be able to take part in designing an education program suited to the needs of their area they must have access to professional support personnel.

Elected people cannot be, nor are they expected to be, experts in education. Rather, they are to reflect requirements of the community and to use their best judgement in making decisions with the advice of technical resource persons. Without the access to people who are experienced in the educational field, the role of the school trustee is limited and often secondary to "expert" decisions made centrally.

Many of Manitoba's school divisions operate with only the bare minimum of professional staff. These divisions normally employ a superintendent and a secretary-treasurer. The secretary-treasurer may be fully occupied by simply accounting duties and may not have access to modern methods of accounting or program budgeting. The superintendent, who likely has more experience in the field of education, is really the only full-time staff member with the background to develop program initiatives.

Unfortunately the superintendent generally has to give first priority to the administrative operation of the Division. Therefore, it is unrealistic to expect that this one person, with the help of the staff available to him, can do a great deal in terms of planning or innovation.

DIRECTIONS FOR CHANGE

THE OPTIONS FOR FINANCING

The provincial goal of bringing equality to the education system could lead to a possible conflict with the *Guidelines* principle of participation. The basic source of inequality in the current financing system is the fact that the Foundation Program does not cover an adequate standard of education, thereby forcing divisions to resort to special levies. This dependence on special levies, as shown above, creates inequities. There are various ways the province could attempt to equalize the financing system.

If full equality was to be achieved, it might be necessary to remove the option for local school divisions to set local levies. However, if this was carried out, it would mean local boards could have less control over their local education programs because even if they wanted to offer extended programs they would be unable to raise the necessary financing on a local basis. Thus the question of financing must be approached with the objective of designing a system which would allow as much equality as possible throughout the province but which would also permit some local discretion in raising revenue.

In order to give school divisions and local people a greater say in their educational programs and policies, it would be necessary for the province to relinquish some of its present control over the allocation of the Foundation grants in each division.

Funds would be allocated by the province in the form of a bloc grant calculated on a per pupil basis and taking into account differences in costs and the concern for equality in education in all divisions. Institution of the bloc formula of transferring money from the provincial government to local school boards would require a phasing-in period in order to allow school boards and local people to adjust to the new system of programming of educational services. The process has been started with the $18 per student bloc grant implemented in 1970-71 and the additional $32 per student grant announced for 1973. Further provincial funds, ranging from $3 to $21 per student are being allocated in 1973 on a bloc basis with the largest per student grants going to those divisions with low assessments. With these measures, a start has been made on widening the discretion of school divisions in the allocation of funds. At the same time, these funds have been distributed to school divisions in a way which will increase the degree of equality among divisions.

THE BURDEN OF EDUCATION TAXES

While the reliance on the property tax system for financing education has had a profound effect on the ability of many school divisions to raise adequate funds for education, it has also added to the regressivity of the provincial tax system. The property tax is a very regressive source of taxation; it is also the largest single source of taxation of the provincial and municipal governments. The property tax is particularly regressive in its effects on residential and farm property taxpayers. Low income families tend to spend a high portion of their income on housing and thus the residential property tax bears particularly heavily on them. While farmers do not pay residential property taxes, the farm taxes they pay are particularly burdensome in relation to property taxes on other forms of production and especially in relation to farm income.

The provincial government has recognized the regressivity of the property tax system and has moved towards the ability to pay principle as the basis of its tax policy. In the past, measures have been taken by the government to reduce the burden of property taxation on low and middle income families and to finance more of the costs of education from progressive tax sources. The Manitoba government increased the share of the Foundation Program financed from provincial government revenue sources from 65 percent in 1968 to 80 percent in 1973. As a result the Foundation levy on farm and residential assessment has fallen from 13.1 mills in 1968 to 3.5 mills in 1973. A second progressive measure, the School Tax Reduction Act, provided for the rebate of one-half of the education property taxes paid in 1972 to a maximum of $50.00.

In the 1972 Provincial Budget Address a more significant step was taken with the introduction of the Manitoba Education Property Tax Credit Plan. This plan

provides for the payment of tax credits to education property taxpayers – credits which are related to both education property taxes paid and to the income of the taxpayer. The 1972 plan provided for credits which ranged from $50 to $140 with the additional stipulation that no credit could exceed actual education property taxes paid (directly or through rent). The aim of the plan was to reduce the burden of one of the most regressive forms of taxation – the property tax. It is estimated that the 1972 Manitoba Education Property Tax Credit Plan will provide some $28 million of direct relief to farm and residential property taxpayers with relief concentrated on low and middle income taxpayers.

The 1973 Provincial Budget Address introduced a number of major extensions to the 1972 Credit Plan. The benefit levels were increased and the plan was further expanded by extending the base of the plan to include all property taxes. The new Manitoba Property Tax Credit Plan will be responsible for an estimated reduction of 1973 farm and residential property taxes of some $42 million.

The Manitoba Property Tax Credit Plan, the increased per student grants to school divisions and the province's increased share of the Foundation Program should together be responsible for a much reduced property tax burden in 1973.

The 1972 Manitoba Education Property Tax Credit Plan and the 1973 Property Tax Credit Plan will both achieve a good measure of success in relieving the regressive effects of property taxes. These plans have served well the aim of shifting property tax burdens and it is expected they will be extended in the years to come.

DIVISION, COMMUNITY AND PROVINCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The institution of expanded bloc grants and other revisions in supplying financing and programming should result in changes in the roles of the school divisions, the community, and the provincial Department of Education.

The local role should be revitalized by gradually delegating decision-making responsibility to the division level. The bloc formula is advantageous in that it would help provide divisions with the autonomy to allocate within the budget according to local priorities and needs. Organized on a relatively uniform annual computation, this would provide for a level of long-term budget stability which would encourage program and financial planning. The extent and nature of divisions' staff support would vary with the technical requirements of each area, but in general would reflect local needs and the division's capacity to respond to them.

With respect to local participation and community responsiveness, decentralization to the division does not alone satisfy the need to involve more people in the immediate school community. Without provision for specific participatory mechanisms, there is a real danger that the new powers would become solidified within the division hierarchy. The school division structure, then, should be augmented by the establishment of locally organized committees charged with specific planning and decision-making functions relating to a particular school.

The intent of local committees would be to foster local interest and involvement in a wide range of educational activities. The committees, with the assistance of division staff, would develop long term plans for their school. These plans combined with others in the division would be the basis for a comprehensive divisional plan. As well each local committee, at open meetings, would make recommendations on the annual budgets for the operation of the school within its area. With some assistance from the Division, the local committees could undertake the development of particular programs aimed at school-community interaction.

In this regard, the committees might pursue programs for the entire community utilizing the school as a resource centre and in addition could well begin the co-ordination of social service or preventative health programs based in the school. From another perspective, they could be responsible for designing staffing plans involving local people and could integrate community projects or businesses into a broadened school curriculum. The operation of the committee itself in promoting participation would be fully supported as a part of the education program and assistance would be available from staff of the division and the provincial Department of Education.

This re-allocation of responsibilities to the school division and local community would necessitate a parallel re-orientation of function for the provincial Department of Education. The provincial role would move from an administrative and control perspective to a greater emphasis on planning and development. The Department would concern itself with assisting divisions in establishing an education system based on local needs and consistent with the goals of provincial policy. It would assume direct authority in those matters which require a province-wide approach. The province could set up systems to monitor and evaluate programs to ensure that basic minimum standards were maintained. In addition, the province could study the effectiveness of divisional programs, the teacher training system and other special educational programs.

(a) Evaluation

Traditional formal methods of school assessment usually appraise the quality of educational programs and services in such terms as the quality of school plant and facilities, the paper credentials of professional personnel and the number of dollars expended per student.

However, various studies done in recent years demonstrate the limited relevance of these factors on student performance. High teacher credentials and modern school buildings do have an influence on performance but they are weak factors in determining variability in student achievements. Much more important are such factors as the socio-economic background of the student and the capacity of the school system to meet the varying needs of students throughout the province. It is no longer possible to judge the quality of a school system solely by looking at the "educational inputs" i.e. the buildings, the teachers, etc. Since the individual student provides the "raison d'etre" of the schools, what happens to the student must provide the basis for assessment of the school system. Outcome, rather than analysis of the resources in educational system, constitutes the significant indicator of the value, quality, effectiveness, and excellence of schooling. Student-oriented evaluation must consider the outcomes, skills and competencies developed through education in order to assess the effectiveness of the schools. Systematic and on-going evaluation would provide for the priorizing of concerns and for more efficient planning and allocation of resources at the provincial, divisional and school level.

(b) Teacher Training

The rapid expansion of knowledge about learning and teaching requires continuous development of the Manitoba teaching force. Such a program would be enhanced through a close co-operation between training of new teachers and staff development of certified teachers. Creation of teaching teams comprised of certified teachers, teachers-in-training, paraprofessionals, and volunteers could facilitate periodic staff development sessions without disruption of the schooling of students.

Teacher training should take place in the world of students and schools. Teacher trainees could work with experienced

teachers in the design of learning activities and programs which would enable them to better understand and relate to the students. The greater part of the training years would be spent in such direct experiences as tutoring, interning in classrooms, and assisting in neighborhood social service agencies. Teacher trainees would learn how to work effectively with the community. They would be trained to maximize opportunities for student-parent-teacher participation in the school and be skilled in evoking contributions from the community. Student-centred teacher training would promote individualization of the learning experience and should strengthen teachers in such areas of critical need as the inner-city schools, the small and rural schools.

One program involving teacher trainees working closely with students is the summer education program operated by the Department of Education. Faculty of Education students now receive half-a-course credit for serving internship in the summer education program under which they teach innovative courses to about 2,500 students. This provides the education students with valuable experience in working with children.

(c) Development of New Concepts

Beyond certain specifics, it is only possible to suggest general directions since future education programming should be determined by new mechanisms geared to encourage a free interchange among participants in the education process. To do more than suggest would be to pre-empt the interaction which is viewed as being essential.

Some concepts worth discussion as possibilities for future development include:

- *Small Schools:* These can provide quality education when linked into co-operative arrangements with other schools. Many centres in Manitoba still possess schools of three to four rooms. Their consolidation should be considered as only one alternative among other organizational arrangements. A compilation of the relative advantages and disadvantages of many elements, such as the amount of travel time by students, degree of individualization of programs, and unit costs, should be examined with respect to the unique situation of each small school. If the school is considered as not only a building but as a community cultural-recreation centre, then the development of small schools could contribute to the *stay option*. In this situation, the teacher could be a resource person in the community as well as a teacher in the school.

- *Community Schools:* To some this term means that the community should use a school facility for recreation and adult education activities. For others the term suggests that the teachers utilize community resources in programs for both children and adults. And to a few the term implies that the local community or neighborhood should have a significant role in deciding the direction of the school. What this adds up to is that the school facility and its personnel must be utilized for more people for a longer period than regular school hours.

- *Career Education:* Career education demands of schooling much more than vocational education. Career education attempts to cater to the approximately 80 percent of secondary school students who enter the working world immediately after school. Under an educational system made more sensitive to student needs, the student would be presented with broad occupational options available in varying degrees of specialization. It is also possible to develop certain such experiences at the elementary school level.

The potential for change in a comprehensive school system has become increasingly rich and exciting. Isolated and small experiments throughout North America and Western Europe demonstrate that it is possible to alter the basic elements of education – who are the teachers (students, adults and paraprofessionals can be profitably engaged in the learning process); what is a school (education can take place in many locales outside a school building); who is schooling for (education can also include learning for adults); what is a program (concern for diverse needs shows that school programs must be broader), and the why of schooling (the tempo of societal change requires that formal learning should be available throughout life rather than concentrated for youth).